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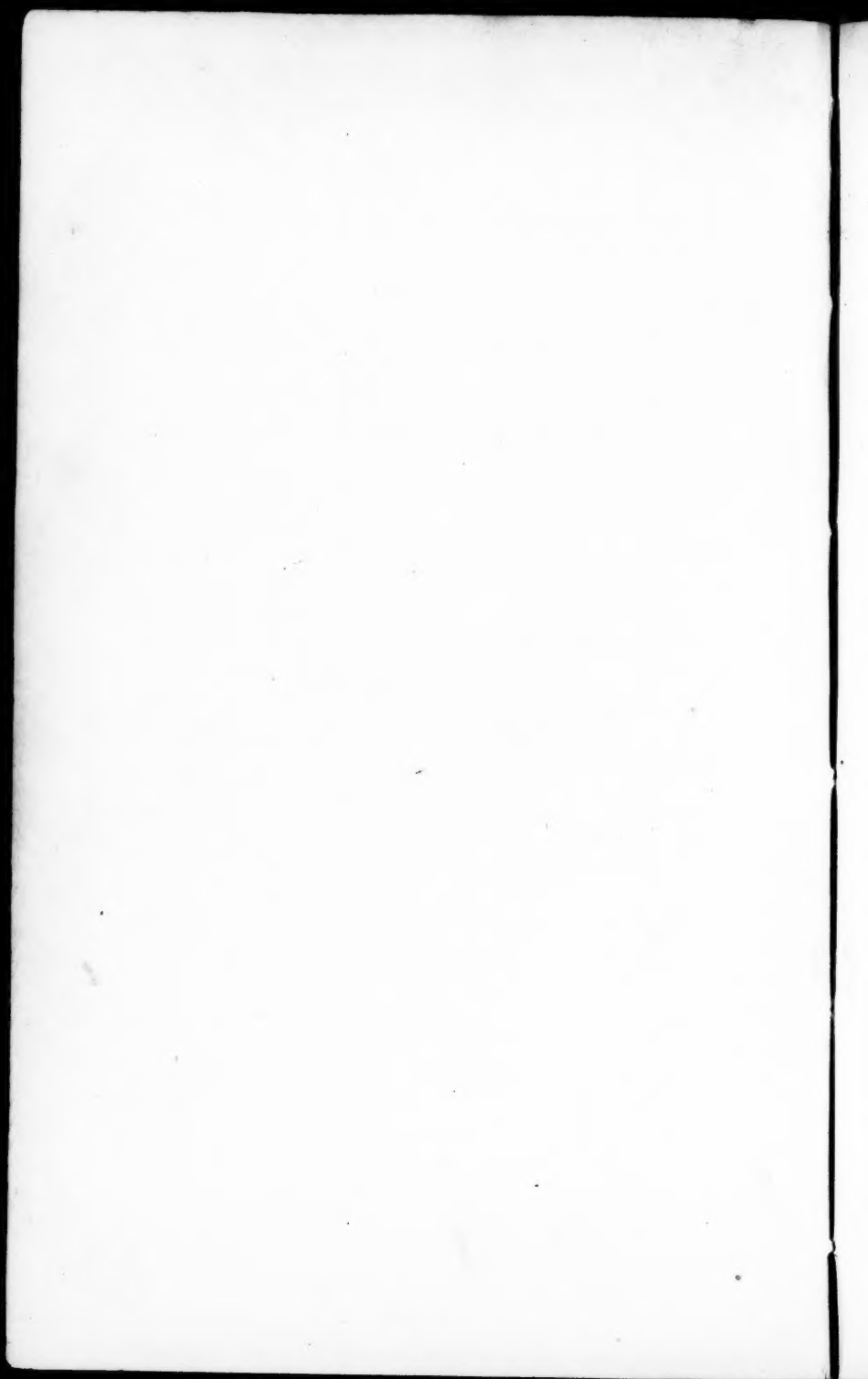


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SEPTEMBER, 1848.

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ART. I.—*Hekla og dens sidste Udbrud, den 2den September, 1845.* En Monographi af J. C. SCHYTHE. (*Hekla and its latest Eruption, on the 2nd of September, 1845.* A Monograph by J. C. SCHYTHE.) 8vo. pp. 154. With 10 lithographed plates, and 2 maps. Copenhagen, 1847.

ABOUT two years ago, some imperfect notices appeared in the English journals, to the effect that the long slumbering volcano of Hekla, in Iceland, had again woke up into activity. From the Orkneys and Shetland Islands accounts were also received, that a shower of fine volcanic sand or dust, had fallen in September, 1845, in these remote portions of the British dominions, and that this phenomenon was probably occasioned by the outbreak of some volcano in the northern seas. Naturally enough, however, the subject attracted but little attention, except from a few scientific men, and the public was perfectly well satisfied with a representation of Mount Hekla in eruption, which appeared in one of the illustrated newspapers, where that volcano was depicted as a conical rock on the borders of the ocean, belching forth fire and smoke, and sending a copious stream of lava directly down into the waves which boiled around its base. Inaccurate and absurd as this delineation undoubtedly was, we will assert that it was fully commensurate with the amount of actual knowledge possessed by the majority of the reading English public, in regard to the true position and character of this remarkable volcano, and of the island in which it is situated. Iceland is indeed classed by our countrymen in the same category as Spitz-

bergen and Nova Zemlaia; it is to them a frozen land clothed in perpetual ice and snow, where no grass springs, and no bush can exist, and on whose southern shore an ever burning mountain flames up, as a beacon to guide the mariner who shuns the inhospitable coast. The perils of a long sea voyage, the difficulties of an almost unknown language, and the very want of information respecting this remote island, have caused Iceland to remain more or less of a "terra incognita," while every nook and cranny of the continent of Europe have been explored by our adventurous countrymen. We do not possess a single good work on the physical geography of Iceland, such as a hundred years ago was published in Denmark by the diligent investigators, Olafsen and Povelsen. We have, indeed, scattered and imperfect notices of the natural phenomena it presents, in the travels of Sir George Mackenzie, of Dr. Hooker, and of Dr. Henderson, and one or two more recent observers: while, for its remarkable history, both literary and civil, we can only refer to the volume on Iceland, Greenland, and the Faroe Isles, published eight years ago in the Edinburgh Cabinet Library.\* Few indeed, then, are aware, that this northern land is not the ice-bound country that it is generally represented, that the flocks and herds of the Icelander afford no contemptible proof of its general prosperity, and that the numerous warm springs, and the internal volcanic fires smouldering beneath, impart to the soil a degree of fertility that could not otherwise be looked for so near the Arctic circle.

The volume now before us, can be regarded only as a contribution to the geology and physical history of Iceland; but it is evidently the production of a competent and scientific observer. Mr. Schythe had ample opportunities for personally studying the volcano and the surrounding districts, shortly after the eruption of 1845. With the true spirit of an ardent naturalist, he remained for weeks in the neighbourhood of the mountain, and wandered day after day amid the most hideous solitudes, with the firm resolve of seeing all for himself, and of not trusting to the imperfect or exaggerated descriptions of others. In his zeal,

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\* We think it right to observe, that this little volume is admirably compiled and arranged, and for its compass presents us with an exceedingly accurate and complete view of the present state and past condition of Iceland.

however, to complete the survey of the volcano, and to describe the phenomena of the eruption, he has omitted altogether those details of personal adventure, and those sketches of character and of scenery which render a scientific work readable to the unscientific public. His book is indeed a pure monograph of Hekla and of the eruption, and we have found no little difficulty in reducing the original scientific details to the standard of the general reader's capacity. But while this dryness of tone detracts from its merit as a popular work, it does not diminish its value as a faithful record or exposition of the present state of the mountain, after the throes and convulsions which it has lately endured.

The first chapter is devoted to the general description of Hekla and its environs. The geological formation of this district is given at some length, but its principal features are,

"That a broad belt of volcanoes, running from south-west to north-east, separates the stratified trap formations of the east and west portions of Iceland. It might be imagined, that the crust of the newly upraised island had been thinnest in the centre, and that a huge rent had severed in this direction, the whole island into two portions; while within this mighty chasm, still in some parts not quite filled up, the volcanic fires have found constant vent."

Among these outlets of the pent-up forces, Hekla stands pre-eminent in history, though many of the Icelandic volcanoes exceed this mountain in height, and many, too, have caused more terrible devastations. Thus, in 1783, the Skaptar Jokul, to the north-east of Hekla, burst into violent eruption, and for two months continued to pour forth such immense torrents of lava, with showers of heated ashes and of pumice, that the pastures all around were entirely destroyed, and hundreds of human beings, with thousands of sheep and cattle, died of hunger and disease.

The volcano of Hekla is situated in the southern part of Iceland, between two of its principal rivers, the Olfus-aa, and the Markar-flot. From the southern coast, a broad plain stretches up in this district towards the interior. Gradually, as we advance towards the north, we find the level surface broken by spurs from the adjacent mountains, and at length it changes to a swelling upland of irregular shape, traversed by numerous ancient streams of lava.

Here we observe numerous valleys and depressions, clothed with rich green vegetation, but separated by wide tracts of brown or black volcanic sand. This sand, or volcanic ash, is indeed the scourge of many districts in Iceland.

"The enormous quantities of sand and ashes, which the volcanoes to the east of this plain have thrown out, are carried by the east and north winds in clouds over this level district. The sky on such occasions becomes obscured, and all nature is wrapt in a brown mist, through which the sun's rays struggle with a faint red light. The acrid powder floating in the atmosphere, causes such violent smarting in the eyes, that it is nearly impossible to walk out in the open air, while the finer dust makes its way into the interior of the cottages, destroying the articles of food, and rendering the milk unfit for domestic use."—(p. 5.)

The volcano of Hekla is situated about thirty English miles from the coast, between the forks of two rivers, the East and the West Rang-aa, the course of both of these streams being generally south-west.

"If we ascend from the confluence of these two rivers towards the mountain, the ground is observed to rise gradually, one lava stream covers the other, but each succeeding stream has stopped short in its progress over the preceding one, so that we ascend step by step, or by a succession of terraces, to the volcano itself. At first the growth of grass is rich and good, but soon sand and ashes predominate, and the absolute sterility of large tracts is only broken by a few prominent sandhills, which support a low scrubby dwarf vegetation of *Salix arctica*, and are held together by the strong roots of the *Elymus arenarius*. Mounting up still further, all traces of vegetation vanish, save when a slight covering of moss varies the surface of the rugged and most recent lava streams. Water too becomes scarce, for the porous nature of the lava allows the surface water to percolate through its loose texture, to issue again in copious streams from the lower edges of the lava courses, or 'Röins,' as they are termed in Iceland. Higher still, perpetual ice and snow reign pre-eminent, especially in the almost unknown districts to the north-east of Hekla, but these too are abundantly supplied with warm springs, and with jets of steam and of hot air, especially in the district between Hekla and the Markar-flot."

The present height of Hekla is scarcely 5,000 feet; the trigonometrical survey of the Lector Gunlögsen has established it at 4,956 feet (Danish.) It is well known, however, that the height of volcanoes is constantly liable to change; the tremendous forces frequently in operation on the

summit may destroy the higher peaks; and again, at another time, may upraise from the bowels of the mountain scorix and lava to a height greater than any that had hitherto existed. But it is in the years succeeding an eruption that the greatest alteration takes place. Each new outbreak, rending the highest portions of the top, accumulates a vast heap of loosely aggregated masses on the summit and on the sides, where they often hang half suspended on the acute angle of the descent, till, loosened by the rain, and by the ever advancing process of their own disintegration, they roll down the steep declivity to the base. In this way the general height of the mountain is constantly lowered, till a fresh eruption piles up new masses on the top. Mr. Schythe estimates the diminution of the height of Hekla, subsequent to the last eruption, to be nearly 100 feet; but he has some doubts as to the accuracy of the former trigonometrical measurements. The mass of the mountain is mainly composed of lava, scorix, and ashes, and in most cases, the lava is remarkably loose and porous in texture. Portions of more solid lava may often be observed impacted in a breccia of tufaceous matter, with imperfect crystals of christianite.

The general direction of the Icelandic volcanoes, from south-west to north-east, is particularly well marked in the elevation of Hekla, which is prolonged to the south-west as far as the Selsund's Field, while the lower grounds are covered with vast streams or Rõins of lava, of which the successive inroads have, within historical periods, gradually destroyed a rich pasture ground that formerly extended up to the very base of the great volcano itself. Three isolated portions of these farms still remain; but they suffered severely in the late eruption, and by another will be probably overwhelmed.

On the east and north of Hekla, desolation reigns pre-eminent. Enormous streams of lava cover the whole land, while numerous Raudöldur, or "red craters" of former eruption, attest the activity of the volcanic fires in this hideous solitude. The name of the Raudöldur, or "red crater," is sufficiently expressive, and corresponds to the "Monte Rosso" of the Italian volcanoes. Only one of these diminutive craters is to be found on the western side of Hekla. It is about two hundred feet in height, and consists of a wall of tile-red slaggy lava, surrounding a deep kettle-shaped crater with nearly perpendicular sides. This wall

is complete, excepting on the north-west side, where the crater has been split from top to bottom, and a large portion of it carried away by some tremendous explosion.

The age of the different lava streams of Hekla is best determined by the amount of vegetation and of mould that they bear upon the surface. The most ancient are covered with a depth of soil sufficient to support a fair growth of grass. On those of later date, the grass is thinly scattered; but a spongy moss renders the footing tolerably secure, though it often, at the same time, hides treacherous rents and fissures in the lava. Finally, the sharp and rough masses of the newest lavas, are not only totally bare of vegetation, but present so rugged and broken a surface, that an active man cannot make his way over them at a greater rate than half an English mile per hour. It is not merely here the unevenness of the surface which obstructs the traveller's progress, but the light and porous lava breaks treacherously under the slightest pressure, and precipitates the adventurer into deep fissures which before were concealed from his sight. Long, however, before grass appears on the recent lavas, vegetation in the shape of dwarf birch wood, "*Birkekrat*," has appeared in some of the more sheltered spots. The woods of Selsund are well known in Rangaavalle Syssel, though the birch rarely rises to the height of a man; but, to the Iclander, the smallest portion of fire-wood is of the utmost value. No inconsiderable part of the income of the owner of Selsund farm is derived from the cuttings of his *forests* for charcoal, a species dollar (about four shillings English) being obtained readily for a small horse load of this material. To be sure, this is not paid in hard cash, which is at all times a very scarce commodity in Iceland, but is bartered for twenty fish at four skillings each.

On the north side of the Hekla range, there is a stream of lava which cannot be traced to the craters of that mountain, and has evidently flowed from some volcanoes in the interior of the country. Some of the streams of lava in this district, appear to have been consolidated under very high pressure, and our author thinks it probable, that at one time the sea extended as a great inlet over the present Rangaavalle Syssel. The great rivers of this district have, in some cases, cut their way through pre-existing streams of lava. The most ancient lavas of Hekla are completely identical with those of the most recent date, as regards their structure, and the few minerals they contain.

In traversing the vast "Röins" on the west of Hekla, the traveller observes huge black furrows running parallel to the course of the lava stream, and separated by rugged crests of the most distorted forms. Where the lava current has been confined between two cliffs, (as in the gorge below Selsund, opposite to the now ruined farm of Næfrholt), it rises high against the perpendicular walls on either side; for the lateral portions are arrested in their course, and cooled, sooner than the central and more fluid parts, which continue their downward progress. Many of our readers may, no doubt, have witnessed the advance of a stream of lava from the craters of Vesuvius; but, by the public at large, very erroneous ideas are entertained as to the rapidity of its advance and its general appearance. A lava stream has *not* the aspect of a fiery torrent, dashing along with the impetuosity of a river that has newly burst its bounds, and overwhelming all things, living or dead, in its irresistible course. The progress of a current of lava is often slow, excepting when it is highly fluid, and rolls over some steep declivity. The greater the distance from the crater, the more slowly does it advance, as the mass constantly tends to cool; but, on the other hand, the stream is frequently augmented by fresh eruptions. In the broad day light, a lava stream shows little or no signs of fire, so rapidly does the outer crust form from the cooling effects of the atmosphere. Across a gentle incline, it moves very slowly, and, to use a most humble simile, it resembles not a little a huge ash heap in slow and gradual progression. We have often stood beside a lava stream in the crater of Vesuvius, so near that we could thrust our walking-stick into the moving mass, from whence we withdrew it with the end in flames, though no fire could be seen on the external surface, amid the loose heaps of blackened scorïæ. At night, however, the scene is different. Wherever the stream rolls over a steep incline, the outer crust is broken, and the fiery torrent beneath comes into view. When the lava is pouring fast out of the crater, the bright ruddy glow of the melted matter forms a long line of fire winding down the sides of the mountain, while the huge masses thrown high in air by the furious outbursts of steam, resemble vast rockets in their flight through the darkened atmosphere. But perhaps the most fearful and extraordinary spectacle, is that presented by the fiery torrent when it encounters in its course a deep and rapid river. The

conflict between the two opposing elements then becomes tremendous. The water is raised in its bed by the cooling and consolidation of the lava pouring into it, and overflows the adjoining lands; while, on the other hand, the melted masses convert the water into steam, with a most hideous tumult and noise. In the great eruption of the Skaptar Jokul, in 1783, the burning stream forced its way to the torrent of the Skaptaa at the point where its waters were precipitated into an abyss of unknown depth and of great extent. For a whole day, the fearful conflict of the elements lasted in this seething cauldron. Huge masses of flaming rock were seen swimming in the boiling water; the fish were thrown out, dead and parboiled, on to the land, while the explosions of steam projected large bodies of water into the air, with a sound resembling the discharge of the largest artillery. Fresh torrents of lava continued to pour in, and after a night of fearful tumult and terror, the deep abyss was in the morning completely filled, and the waters of the Skaptaa inundated the surrounding farms.

The third chapter of our author's monograph is devoted to the history of the former eruptions of Hekla, from the first recorded outbreak in 1104, to the present time. The Icelandic historians have supplied ample dates and details of these eruptions. The most fearful and the most disastrous, were those of 1300, of 1693, and of 1766. On the 13th of July, A.D. 1300, the whole mountain was, as it were, rent from top to bottom, huge masses of burning stone were projected into the air amid the column of smoke and ashes that rose from the crater, and fell at so great a distance, that the roof of the farm of Næfrholt, six miles from the mountain, was set on fire by them; while a hideous darkness covered the plains, so that none could find their way, and no boat could put to sea to prosecute the fishery.

The eruption of April 5th, 1766, commenced at four a. m. with the appearance of an enormous column of ashes and smoke on the summit of the mountain, intermingled with glowing scoræ and constant gleams of forked lightning, while the most fearful sounds issued from the bowels of the mountain. The column of ashes, driven by a south-easterly wind, inclined towards the north-west, and fell in such vast quantities to the earth, that the surface was covered to the depth of an ell in the immediate

vicinity of the volcano. In two hours' time five farms in the neighbourhood of Hekla were laid entirely desolate by the "rain of ashes," while the rivers Thiorsaa and Rangaa, bore on their waters such enormous quantities of scorïæ, that they impeded the progress of the fishing boats at a considerable distance from the land. On the 9th of April two craters could be seen pouring out vast quantities of lava, and one of these is supposed to have been the Raudöldur or red crater on the west side of Hekla, for this remarkable conical hill is not noticed by Eggert Olafsen in his visit to Hekla in 1753, though from the course he took in ascending the mountain, it could not have escaped his observation, if it had then existed. On the 23rd of April 1766, the height of the column of ashes and smoke was ascertained by measurement to be not less than sixteen thousand feet, and on previous days it had appeared to attain a still greater elevation. Counting from the first recorded eruption, we find that Hekla's periods of repose have been extremely unequal, they vary from six to seventy-four years. We subjoin these intervals in the order of their occurrence from the year 1104, viz., 53 years, 48, 16, 72, 6, 41, 48, 47, 74, 44, 24, 19, 22, 17, 57, 73. It has not been found that the length of the periods of repose have exerted any peculiar influence on the violence of the eruptions; for the great outbreak of the year 1300, took place only six years after that of 1294.

Our author next briefly notices the various ascents of Hekla that have been made by scientific travellers, from the first visits of Eggert Olafsen and Biarne Povelsen in 1753, to his own repeated observations from 1839 to 1846. The clouds, fog, and chilling winds on the summit of the volcano, have unfortunately proved most serious obstacles to scientific investigators on these occasions, save in the single instance of Eggert Olafsen's visit, and of some of our author's repeated and arduous expeditions in the same quarter.

The gradual cooling of the crater after the eruption of 1766, may be traced in the records of the various travellers, who have since, at successive periods, visited the summit of Hekla. Thus Banks and Solander, in 1772, found so hot a vapour rising in many places from cavities on the mountain, that they were unable to approach these to ascertain their temperature by the thermometer; while Thienemann in 1821, and Paul Gaimard in 1836, and

lastly, our author himself, in 1839, observed no signs of subterranean heat, save in one spot, where a small jet of steam raised the thermometer to '10° centigrade.' The fourth chapter of Mr. Schythe's book will undoubtedly present the greatest attractions to the general reader, as it embodies the history of the recent eruption of 1845-46, as collected and carefully detailed by one thoroughly competent for the task. From the slight jet of steam that Mr. Schythe had observed upon the mountain in 1839, he had ventured to predict, that the subterranean forces were again in operation, and that ere long, a serious outbreak might be expected. But for five years longer the volcano remained perfectly quiet, and it was not till the year 1845, that the peculiar condition of the atmosphere excited some little alarm among the inhabitants, as from ancient tradition it was well known that such alterations were commonly the precursors of an eruption. The winter of 1844-45, was remarkable for its extraordinarily mild character; the grass shot forth as early as the month of April, and the unvarying dryness of the summer was eminently favourable for the hay harvest. The medium temperature of the spring of 1845, was more than two degrees (centigrade) above that of the fourteen previous years. The barometer showed during this period extremely little variation. As the summer advanced, it was observed that less snow than usual lay in patches on the mountain, but the mild spring, and the very dry months that succeeded it, may perhaps account for this, without supposing an increase of subterranean heat. In the beginning of August it was universally remarked, that a great decrease suddenly took place in the quantity of the milk yielded by the sheep and cows, especially in the highly volcanic districts to the east of Hekla. Our author suspects that acid vapours may at this period have been rising from the earth, and tainting the grass, for such emanations were detected by him in abundance after the eruption. It was observed too by the inhabitants of the Rangaa valleys, that the numerous hot springs and vapour jets in the Reykiadal, near the Markar-flot, had increased during the last year both in number and in power, but this rather tended to allay their fears of an eruption, as they hoped that in this way the subterranean fires of Hekla had found vent. Our author, however, regarded it rather as an indication that the subterranean heat was approaching nearer to the surface. The

former eruptions of Hekla, and of other of the volcanoes of Iceland, had been frequently preceded by earthquakes, but on this occasion no such phenomena were observed, save two slight shocks at Reykiavik during the winter.

We shall avail ourselves, in describing the eruption of September 2nd, 1845, of the words of Mr. Schythe, though we could have desired a little more life and vivacity of colouring in his descriptions.

"The dry weather which had lasted during the whole of the spring and autumn of 1845, was succeeded on the 22nd of August by heavy rains, which continued during the rest of the month. September came in, dark and gloomy, with occasional drizzling rain, while a fearful stillness prevailed in this usually stormy part of the country. Such was the state of the atmosphere on Thursday, the 2nd of September, when after seventy-nine years of repose, the longest interval of quiet yet on record, the eighteenth eruption of Mount Hekla commenced. Dark heavy mists obscured all the mountain ranges on this eventful morning, but about nine a. m., the attention of the inhabitants of the neighbouring farms, was attracted by dull booming sounds like distant cannon shot, from the eastern range of Hekla, and at the same time, by some, a slight tremulous motion of the earth was observed. Many, who at that hour were proceeding to the fields on foot or on horseback, believed that what they heard was thunder, and others thought that a heavy storm was approaching from the east. But the ceaseless succession, and loud tone of the detonations, soon dispelled these ideas, while Hekla and its whole range still continued wrapt in impenetrable mist. This fog however seems to have been less dense towards the east of the mountain, for the inhabitants of that district saw, about ten a. m., a dark cloud rising over the range, to the west and north-west of their position, and at the same time they heard with awe and terror, a constant noise as of a heavy cannonade, from the same quarter. All doubt respecting the origin of these sounds was however dispelled, when, about eleven in the morning, the dark cloud which had now spread itself over the whole horizon, began to rain down a thick shower of ashes and grayish scorïæ about the size of swanshot. (Rævehagl). Lower and lower did the dense canopy descend upon the earth, till, at mid-day, the darkness was as that of the obscurest winter night, and they who were surprised out in the fields, had the greatest difficulty in regaining their dwellings. After an hour's lapse, a sort of twilight reappeared, as when morning first breaks in the east, but day was not fairly restored till about three p. m. The shower of scorïæ continued for about an hour longer, and was succeeded by a fall of black volcanic sand, which lasted till mid-day on the 3rd, by which time the ground was covered with sand, scorïæ, and ashes, to the depth of an inch and a half."—p. 51.

On the western side of Hekla a similar obscurity prevailed, but no ashes fell in this quarter, as a strong north-west wind was blowing. The darkness over this district was caused by the sun's rays being intercepted by the column of smoke and ashes that rose from the mountain; it was, in fact, a novel sort of eclipse of the sun.

"Some of the farmers in this district, hastily consulted their almanacks, believing it to be a true eclipse of the sun, and such indeed it was, but not one predicted in the almanack."

It is curious that the first outburst of the volcanic forces was not accompanied with louder detonations, for in many places these were so indistinctly heard, that they were regarded as distant thunder, or as the noisy ebullitions of the ever active Geysers. Still more singular is it, however, that these detonations of the volcano were heard in the most distant quarters of the island. At Kirkiuvogr, 24 miles from Reykiavik, it was thought that a cannonade was going on at the latter town; while still further off, at Stappen, under the Sneefield Jokeln, it was believed that a whale of large size had got on shore, and was lashing his tail upon the rocks. Even in the desolate isle of Grimsey, on the north coast, booming shots were heard at three p. m., on the 2nd of September, and were supposed at the time by the inhabitants, to be cannon fired by the French cutter, cruising in that fishing ground.

The extent over which actual earthquakes were observed at the time of the eruption, may be comprised in two elliptical lines, extending about 24 miles in direct length, by about 10 at the greatest breadth between these, and thus enclosing the whole range of Hekla, from south-west to north-east. A slight tremulous motion of the earth was, however, observable at much greater distances.

When the sky cleared about three in the afternoon of the 2nd of September, the huge column of smoke and ashes rising from the summit of the volcano, became for the first time apparent, and continued distinctly visible till night set in, about half-past seven.

"Just as the darkness closed, a louder detonation than any yet heard, spread terror all around, and the numerous dogs that attend on an Iceland farm, fled howling from their master's dwellings, far away into the district of Holterni, from whence many did not return for the lapse of a week. Night now fairly set in, and a bright flame rose high in the air from the volcano, while huge

masses of glowing scoriæ shot up to an enormous height, and a stream of red molten lava appeared flowing down the western declivity of the mountain towards the plains."

The effects of the volcano on the rivers in the immediate western vicinity of the range, were sufficiently remarkable. The waters of the western Rangaa diminished very sensibly about mid-day on the 2nd, probably in consequence of the scoriæ and ashes that fell into and obstructed its upper course; but a few hours later its stream suddenly rose to an unprecedented height, and bearing on its surface huge masses of scoriæ, it swept with irresistible force onwards to the ocean. At the same time the temperature of the water became so much elevated, that the hand could not be kept in it for a moment, and hundreds of trout, in a half-boiled condition, were cast out upon the banks. But ere the night had fairly set in, the river had returned within its limits, and its waters in a short time regained their clear pellucid character.

On the morning of the first eruption, the atmosphere around the mountain was perfectly still, but from the rapidity with which the huge column of ashes travelled towards the south and east, it is evident that a powerful north wind blew in the upper regions of the air, shortly after the volcano burst forth. We have evidence that the shower of ashes and of volcanic sand extended far out to sea in this direction. The sloop *Helena*, Captain J. Larsen, was, at twelve o'clock a. m., on the 2nd of September, in 60-58 north latitude, and 9-43 longitude west from Greenwich. At nine p. m. on that day, a heavy cloud came driving over the ocean, and covered the ship's decks and sails with dark ashes, while a strong wind blew from the north-west. It follows, therefore, that in the space of less than twelve hours, the ashes from Mount Hekla passed over a distance of about 360 English miles, giving a velocity of above 30 English miles per hour. The showers of ashes fell in the Faro isles at the same hour, and in Shetland early on the morning of the 3rd of September. At the period of the year when the eruption took place, the sheep, which form no inconsiderable portion of the riches of the Icelanders, had not as yet been brought in from their summer pastures, and thousands of these animals were grazing on the high ranges around the volcano. The utmost anxiety was necessarily felt regarding their fate; but on the evening of the first day they arrived in troops

at the several farms, with their fleeces blackened with ashes, and their flesh severely burned in many places by the red-hot scoriæ. Many, however, still remained upon the hills, and were not recovered for more than a week, when their feet were found to be dreadfully cut and bruised by the sharp lava, so that the lambs had to be carried home, and for a long time afterwards these were observed to feed in a kneeling position, as their feet were too sore to support the weight of the body. On the east side of Hekla, which was the direction in which the showers of ashes principally fell, the flocks were widely dispersed. Scared by the fearful detonations from the mountain, and burnt by the glowing cinders falling around, the terrified animals fled to a great distance, and some forty or fifty head even made their way into the district of Skaptartunga, which lies nearly 60 miles to the east of Hekla. When the farmers and herdsmen subsequently traversed the eastern district in search of their lost herds, they observed the remarkable fact, that the boiling springs, so common about the Markar-flíot, had become only lukewarm, or about the temperature of new milk. One particular spring, at the eastern base of the Torfa Jokul, which had hitherto always been used by the Icelanders to prepare their coffee when in its vicinity, without the need of fire or of boiling apparatus, was now so cooled, as to be utterly unfit for that purpose.

The rate of progress of the lava stream, in its descent from the crater, was not accurately noted; by general report it was said, in the first twelve days of the eruption, to have advanced at the average of about fifty feet per hour. In seven days the new 'Roin' had progressed more than two miles from the foot of Hekla, but its cooling from that time went on rapidly, though when an iron bar was thrust into the rough scoriæ that composed its crust, it easily reached the melted mass below, and quickly became red hot. But it was somewhat dangerous to approach very near the melted mass, for if it encountered any obstacle in its course, such as a large stone or rock, it accumulated behind it, and then suddenly burst forth on either side in a stream of liquid fire. The depth of the new lava stream was generally estimated at from 40 to 50 feet, but when compressed within a cleft or defile, it often rose to 120 feet or more.

Up to the 12th of September, the lava stream had only

flowed over beds of ancient lavas, and had not as yet reached the mountain pastures. On the 12th, the volcano, after eight days of comparative tranquillity, again became active, and poured forth additional showers of lava and scorice. The injurious effects of the rain of ashes soon became apparent in the vegetable world. Cabbages, &c. which were healthy and flourishing in the gardens on the 13th, were completely withered and dried up by midday on the 14th, and the same fate befell the herbage, wherever the ashes rested thereon. Still worse were the consequences when the ashes fell mixed with rain, as they then adhered more closely to the grass, marking each blade with a dull brown spot wherever the ashes adhered; and then, as these spots increased in number, they gradually blended with each other, and the whole plant became brown and sapless.

On the 14th of September, the detonations from the volcano were fearfully loud, and occurred with great regularity, at intervals of about a minute. They were always preceded by an active outburst of black smoke, probably ashes and steam, from the interior of the volcano. A new crater opened this afternoon on the southern part of the range, and emitted a copious torrent of lava. The ashes and sand rained down in such quantities over all the district to the south-east of Hekla, that in three hours' time the ground was covered to the depth of two inches. During the succeeding days, the lava stream, receiving fresh augmentation from the new crater, advanced on to the mountain pastures, and surrounded the Mel-Field, a small hill of Tufa, isolated among the green pastures at the foot of Hekla. By the 21st of September, the lava stream had progressed nearly 100 fathoms beyond the Mel-Field, through a deep valley on the northern side of that elevation. Throughout the month of October, the volcano continued active, though to a less degree, and though snow covered all the lower ranges, the mountain itself remained bare. On the 10th of November, the subterranean action seemed to have almost entirely ceased, but on the 13th of that month, a violent paroxysm again occurred, and on the 19th, the lava stream reached its furthest limits, having progressed during the preceding six days, at the rate of 1,250 feet per day. During the months of December and January, ashes repeatedly fell, but the loud detonations from the mountain were now replaced by

a kind of continuous murmur. On the 26th of March, 1846, the last paroxysm occurred, and Hekla has since then continued perfectly tranquil.

We have thus endeavoured to condense, as much as possible, Mr. Schythe's narrative of the eruption, as we felt it unnecessary to detail, as he has done, the phenomena of each succeeding day. From the observations collected from our author, it is evident that at least three craters or outlets for the pent-up fires within the mountain were opened at a very early period of the eruption. One of these was on the north-east point of the volcano, another on the central or highest part of the summit, and the third on its western declivity. The column of ashes was repeatedly measured by Gunlögsen, and was ascertained to range from 6,000 to 14,000 feet above the summit.

Our author could not learn that the great warm springs, the Geyser and Strokkr, exhibited any remarkable variations during the eruption; but when he subsequently visited these celebrated fountains, he found that the depth of the pipe of the Geyser had diminished from 78 to 60 feet, while the water at the bottom exhibited a temperature of 115 centigrade, the boiling point being, it is needless to say, 100.

The fifth chapter of this book contains much of high interest to the scientific geologist. In it are described, from personal observations made during repeated and prolonged visits, the alterations produced in the mountain by the last eruption. We shall briefly condense these details, and by omitting much that is purely scientific, we hope to render them more acceptable to the general reader.

On the 5th of June, 1846, Mr. Schythe arrived at the farm of Næfraholt, the nearest to the base of Hekla, and distant only 150 yards from the still steaming lava of the recent eruption. It was not, however, till the 26th of this month that Hekla was sufficiently clear of mist to enable him to reach the summit, in company with the owner of Næfraholt, whose property had been greatly devastated by the eruption. On the top he found four recently formed craters in a line parallel to the extension of the range, viz., from south-west to north-east. From these craters there rose up an enormous quantity of dense steam, which, settling down on the sides and summit of the mountain, soon enveloped him in so impenetrable a fog, that at the distance of three paces he could not see his guide, and, at times,

he could not even discern the ground on which he stood. We ourselves once encountered a similar fog on the summit of Vesuvius, while all below was calm and serene; but the steam was in this case so heavily charged with ammoniacal vapours, that respiration was nearly impeded, and it was with some difficulty that we escaped into a purer atmosphere. On the second of September, 1846, there was not a cloud during the whole day on the summit of Hekla, and Mr. Schythe was enabled to devote many hours to the exploration of the mountain. The morning was sharp and frosty, and the recent lava steamed vigorously in the cold air, for a large quantity of rain had fallen during the night, and this, soaking through the porous covering of scorix and ashes, rose again in steam when it came in contact with the still melted lava beneath. Mr. Schythe first examined the western crater, from whence the great stream of lava that had flowed down towards Næfrholt had evidently come. Here the now congealed torrent was seen piled in huge masses, and in the wildest confusion, as it issued from the mountain's side. The bottom of the crater was filled with new fallen snow to a considerable depth. The next crater was separated from the former by a very narrow ridge of porous slags of the most beautiful carmine red colour. The snow, melting at the bottom of the crater, and sinking through the scorix to the hot lava beneath, caused a considerable steam to rise, and emitted a constant sound, as it were, of boiling water.

We have but space remaining for a brief extract of our author's theory of the rise and progress of the last eruption. It began, he believes, by the rending of the upper part of the mountain in a direction from south-west to north-east. It was not merely that vent was found for the subterranean forces by the four craters; but an actual disruption of the summit took place in the direction above stated. This rent or cleft did not occur, however, exactly along the line of the summit, but a little to the south of the highest elevated ridge; and, in consequence thereof, the craters and the portions of the rent still remaining open, are higher on their northern than on their southern sides. This circumstance, our author thinks, may have partially influenced the direction of the ashes and scorix. In the neighbourhood of the fourth or north-eastern crater, the great disruption was still visible, while parallel to it, at

various distances, ran similar smaller rents, evidences of the fearful forces that had shattered the whole summit in this direction. The distance to which the lava stream advanced from Hekla on this occasion, was between seven and eight English miles; but the quantity thrown out, though large indeed, was yet far less than what has been ejected on former occasions. Its aggregate amount is estimated by our author at 14,400 million of cubic feet, a quantity sufficient to bury the whole city of Copenhagen to the depth of 330 feet.

As far as could be explored, the lava stream appeared everywhere to consist of loosely aggregated fragments of scoræ, and in no part did it exhibit that solid and often mamillated form observed in those lavas which have been subjected to pressure, or that have cooled more slowly than this would do under the influence of an Iceland winter. Still, six months after the lava had reached its farthest point, it was found to be in many places only half cooled, and the thermometer, at no great distance below the surface, rose to 84 centigrade. From the rents in the mass, a vast quantity of steam constantly issued, forming a brilliant contrast of white vapour on the hideous black surface of the torrent. The longer that these vapours continued to rise from the crevices, the more did they become charged with acid, and this acid, as might be expected from the extreme whiteness of the steam, was chiefly the hydrochloric. Of carbonic acid, and of sulphuretted hydrogen gas, but few traces could be discovered. Salmiak (muriate of ammonia) was observed in considerable quantities on the surface of the lava, and was thought by the natives to be an efflorescence of pure salt, such as the ancient historians record to have been formerly ejected from the mountain. No doubt the pure salt of the old writers was nothing else but Salmiak; though even the Icelanders of the present day regarded this appearance as produced by the influx of the sea water through the subterraneous communications between Hekla and the ocean. So convinced were they of this, that one speculating Iceland, during the summer of 1846, loaded his horses with the muriate of ammonia from the mountain, and actually employed it in curing his fish; but with what success may easily be imagined.

Little or no pumice-stone (pimpsteen) seems to have been ejected by Hekla during the late eruption. Indeed, our

author strongly doubts the fact of pumice ever having been thrown out by this volcano. Into his arguments regarding this disputed point, want of space forbids us to enter ; but his researches go far to prove that the small quantities of pumice found about this mountain, are probably the produce of some other volcano.

A short but interesting chapter on the injury caused to the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts by the eruption, closes the book. No damage was done directly to any of the dwellings ; but it was found necessary to desert the farmhouse of Næfrholt, as the near approach of the lava had dried up the springs which supplied that house with water. It was fortunate that the enormous showers of ashes and scorïæ which fell on the earlier days of the eruption, descended chiefly upon the almost uninhabited districts to the east of Hekla. Several of the grazing farms in this direction, however, did not escape, and as the hay had not yet been entirely got in, all that remained in the fields was lost and spoiled. In this way the horses and cattle were deprived of the food absolutely necessary for their maintenance during the winter, and the farmers were forced to diminish their stock by disposing of them for what they would bring. Much more serious, however, was the damage done to the mountain pastures. Of nearly two hundred ewes and lambs possessed by the farms of Næfrholt, in August, 1845, there remained only sixty head in the spring of 1846, the remainder had been killed on account of the deficit of winter provender, and the destruction of the mountain pastures of the summer season. Indeed, the mountain ranges where the sheep had fed during the previous summer, were in great part ruined beyond all hope ; for where they had not been overflowed by the lava, they were covered by a dense layer of ashes and sand to the depth of two feet and more. As a consequence of the scarcity of provender, sickness soon showed itself amongst the cattle. Many of the sheep were seriously lamed by their hoofs being torn and cut to the quick by the sharp and rugged scorïæ they had traversed in their homeward flight ; their wool, too, was blackened and burnt, and fell off so much, that the fleeces were of little value in the succeeding season. The Iceland Ptarmigan, which forms no unimportant item in the winter's consumption among the farmers, almost entirely deserted the country, and the fishing on that part of the coast where the consequences of the eruption were

chiefly felt, was specially unproductive. Although so many years had elapsed since the previous eruption of Hekla, this last cannot be classed with some of the more serious outbreaks upon record. Its chief interest indeed is, that in Mr. Schythe a historian has been found, thoroughly competent to describe and to judge of the phenomena presented by its progress. Of his own individual exertions, our author says little or nothing; but from a few scattered hints, we learn that he spent many days wandering through the almost unexplored districts to the east of Hekla, where the natives themselves rarely venture, save in search of strayed cattle, or as guides to more adventurous travellers.

The volume of which we now take our leave is most creditable, as regards printing and paper, to the Copenhagen press; but the lithographs which accompany it are of a very inferior character. The geological portion of the work, and especially the second and fourth chapters, form most interesting papers for translation into some of our many scientific journals.

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ART. II.—1. *Oratio habita a P. F. X. de Ram, Rectore Magnifico, &c., &c., ad Academicos, &c. Anno 1847, Louvain.* Valinhtout et Vandezande, 1848.

2.—*Documents relatifs a l'erection et l'organization de l'université Catholique de Louvain.* E. M. Devroye and Co., Brussels, 1844.

3.—*Quelque Mots, sur L'Université Catholique de Louvain.* J. J. Vanderborght, Brussels.

4.—*Annales de L'Université Catholique de Louvain.* Louvain, Valinhtout et Vandezande.

WE had promised, in a past number, to furnish our readers with a sketch of the history of the University of Louvain, and its re-establishment under the constitutional monarchy which now governs the little kingdom of Belgium, since its revolution and separation from Holland. The letter of his Holiness Pius IX., to the Bishops of Ireland, in proposing the example of the Bishops of Belgium, to whose efforts the present university owes its recovered existence, as a pattern worthy to be followed, has

rendered the name of Louvain doubly interesting. Without further preface therefore, we enter upon our task, believing that not only the interest of the subject, but the obvious usefulness to the Catholics of Great Britain, of some authentic information respecting a seminary so easy of access, will be such, as to render all apology needless.

We had proposed, had space permitted, to have begun with a sketch of the history of the former University, specially with regard to its faculty of theology; respecting which we may mention by the way, that Henry VIII. after having prevailed, principally by bribery, with so many of the chief Universities of Europe to declare in favour of the nullity of his marriage with Catherine of Arragon, made no application to the doctors of Louvain from sheer despair of its success. On a future occasion we may perhaps be able to complete our subject, by taking a glimpse of its history, as this would bring to light many interesting facts, touching the manners of our forefathers in conducting the great work of education.

The ancient University came to an end in a manner worthy of its long and faithful career. The following account of its suppression is given in a collection of historical documents, by Dr. Vandeveldé, vol. 3, p. 1122.

"In the year 1797, on the 25th of October, the central administration of the Department of the Dyle, which was held at Brussels, made a decree, by which the ancient University of Louvain, celebrated throughout Europe for so many centuries, is suppressed, overthrown and trampled down; the Professors are forbidden to continue their academic prolelections, and the administrators of the revenues and property of the colleges, to concern themselves any further in receiving and managing them. The libraries, the archives, museums, are all sealed up. The presidents and other members of the Colleges are commanded to leave them within ten days time, to be expelled by the military if they neglect to obey. The professors are all deprived of their office, dignity, prerogatives and emoluments, without the least indemnification; a penalty is laid upon the Rector, John Joseph Havelange, and some others among the ecclesiastical professors. .... If it be asked, what is the cause of this work of destruction, their answer is—That the University of Louvain, from its constitution and the nature of the sciences taught in it, did not follow the kind of instruction, suited to republican principles, (*que l'Université de Louvain par sa forme et par la nature des sciences qui y sont enseignées, ne suivait pas le mode d'instruction publique, conforme aux principes républicains.*) But what sort of principles, these republican principles

were, could be neither doubted nor concealed. The University of Louvain, abhorring these counsels of impiety which it dared not approve either in word or thought, came to a glorious end, '*certans bonum certamen fidei confessa bonam confessionem coram multis testibus.*' (1 Tim. vi. 12.)"

The members of the University thus suppressed, were dispersed, and forced to take refuge and maintain themselves as they best could, and so long as Belgium continued subject to the French, the survivors could entertain no hope of being able to unite again as an University.

Their hopes however revived when Napoleon was forced to commence his retreat from Russia, with the remains of the most formidable army that a conqueror had probably ever collected together. In that year, 1813, Belgium, together with the Low Countries, was separated by the allies from France, to which Napoleon had annexed it, on the plea of its being France's natural territorial complement. In the month of November, William Frederick, son of the last Stadtholder, was called from his retirement in England, where he was living unknown, to become prince, and shortly king of the Low Countries; and on the 30th of the same month he disembarked at Scheveningen, from whence nineteen years ago he had effected his escape, together with his father. He appears to have proceeded with some prudence and moderation in taking the first steps to establish himself as monarch, promising his people a constitution to protect their interests and liberties. On the 11th of February, a temporary government was organized in Belgium, by Baron Wolzogen, General-major in the service of Russia, and Baron de Boyen, in the name of Prussia, on the 30th of May, 1814. The treaty of Paris was concluded by the allies, in which Belgium was annexed to Holland in virtue of the right of conquest, and for the ostensible motive of preserving the equilibrium of power in Europe. On the 14th of August, 1814, William, already firmly secured in the possession of Holland, published a proclamation, taking possession of the provinces of Belgium as governor general. This concession was purchased on the part of Holland, by ceding to England all claims on the colonies of the Cape of Good Hope, Demerara, Essequibo, Berbice, and Ceylon.

No sooner was the union with France dissolved, than a meeting of such of the dispersed survivors of the old

University as could be found forthcoming, was held at Louvain, in which the Drs. Vandevælde and Van Auderode were chosen as deputies, and authorized to take all the steps that should be found necessary to procure the re-opening the University, the suppression of which they regarded as an act of violence, that could neither abolish or even weaken their rights. The meeting consisted of eighteen doctors and professors. Their first step was to present a petition to the Baron de Vincent, the governor general of Belgium, who had been appointed provisionally by the allies. It bears the date of June 1814. It produced, however, no result, the governor considering it prudent to wait to see what measures could be taken for the formation of a permanent government in Belgium.

On the occasion of a visit of the prince of Orange to Louvain, the same request was energetically made by the burgomaster of the town, and M. Lamal, the dean of St. Peter's, but again without success. It seemed as if a party was formed, which opposed its re-establishment. Towards the end of September, the same parties met together again, to consider what means they still possessed of urging their demand, and resolved to address a petition to the emperor of Austria, and to the Sovereign Pontiff. They thought that they might seek the protection of the emperor and the Pope with success, inasmuch as the same august personage, who, by his edict, confirmed the rights of the University in 1793, was still alive, and a congress was about to take place at Vienna, where the Pope's legate would be in a condition to advocate the cause of the University. M. M. Vandevælde and Auderode found an active agent at Vienna, in the person of L'Abbe Martens, priest of the diocese of Ghent, to whom they transmitted, before the end of October, all the documents necessary to their cause. The first of these was a petition to the emperor Francis II., and the second a letter to the reigning Pope Pius VII., each signed by the deputies, J. F. Vandevælde, and P. F. Van Auderode; the third, a letter to prince Metternich Winnebourg, minister of state. A letter of a similar character was also addressed to cardinal Gonsalvi, the Pope's legate at the court of Vienna. An application also, to the same effect, was made to the powers assembled in Congress, by the vicars general of the diocese of Ghent.

It would appear that all these measures remained equally

fruitless, for in the month of August, 1815, a deputation was sent to Frederick William, the king of Holland, and another long petition addressed to the king on the 12th of October, 1815. The little effect all these attempts had may be collected from the letter of P. H. S. Vermoelen, mayor of Antwerp, addressed to Dr. Vandevelde, (11 Dec. 1815).

"The king has spoken to me, respecting the note I wrote to him, remarking that I seemed to be a great partisan of the University, whereupon I had the honour to observe to him, that I was not alone, but that the greater part of the people of Belgium were of the same opinion. He observed that the Bishops had not always agreed with the Faculty of Theology, that they had certainly sometimes been unfavourable to it, and would continue to be so, that it had always been with jealousy that they had seen the pupils of the University preferred to those of their own seminaries, and that the faculty had sometimes professed opinions, with which they disagreed, at least tacitly. I replied that the principles of the University were the same as those received in other countries, except perhaps by some few persons in France, and that I had never heard it said that they differed in doctrine; and if there were inconveniences to be apprehended, from a preference for the University pupils, it would be possible to remedy them. The prince asked me in joke, whether I wanted the re-establishment of the University *at Louvain*, or of *Louvain*; I said, I asked for the University *of Louvain at Louvain*. The conversation was throughout very amicable, nevertheless I did not see the signs of any very favourable disposition, although no absolute reason to despair."

! All hopes, however, were put to an end by the publication of the decree for the organization of the upper branches of public instruction, issued by the king the 25th of September, 1816. Articles seven and eight of this decree, create three new Universities—at Louvain, at Ghent, and Liege; each to possess the usual five faculties, of—1, Theology, 2, Jurisprudence, 3, Medicine, 4, Mathematical and Physical sciences, 5, Philosophy and Letters, although the theological faculty for the moment was to remain in abeyance. These Universities continued to exist throughout the reign of William, and numbered from two to three hundred students each. A full account of every detail connected with them, may be found in the report of M. Nothomb, Minister of the Interior, presented to the chambers, and published in Brussels, (1844.)

All hopes of the eventual restoration of the ancient

Catholic University of Louvain, under the sovereignty of Holland, being thus destroyed, we have now to examine the circumstances which prepared the minds of the clergy and people to combine together to effect its restoration, as soon as their new constitution, obtained by the Revolution of 1830, set them at liberty to unite their efforts towards the attainment of their long desired end.

The policy of William, from the moment of his taking possession of the Belgian provinces, shows symptoms of having been directed towards the fusion of the two countries into one kingdom, and the creation, if the expression may be allowed, of one nationality. With this object in view, the Dutch language was forcibly made the language of all the public documents, and a knowledge of it required as a qualification for nearly all departments of the state. The Catholic Church also was regarded as the most formidable obstacle in the way of this policy, it being very justly thought, that so long as the Catholic faith and worship possessed the heart and affections of the Belgians, it would be morally impossible that they would blend into one empire and people with their protestant neighbours of Holland. With this view of the ruling principle of William's policy, it is easy to explain the fruitlessness of the repeated applications for the restoration of the ancient University, which had been in its former history so distinguished for its attachment to the holy see, and for its active propagation of the Catholic faith.

After the battle of Waterloo, it became one of the first objects of William's government, to lay the basis of a constitution that should embrace the whole of his new kingdom. A commission was named to draw up a document for the purpose of being submitted to the states. On the 8th of August, the result of their labours was submitted to the general assembly of the states, at the Hague, under the title of "*The Fundamental Law*," and accepted; but when proposed to the principal persons of Belgium, assembled at Brussels, it was rejected by a majority of 796 to 527. This was the beginning of the king's actual quarrels with the Catholic clergy, whom he accused of having used their influence to procure its rejection. Not daunted by this check, the king published a proclamation, declaring the law accepted, and that, since the majority had founded their opposition on a mistaken view of the provisions contained in it, their decision could not be admitted.

As early as the month of October, 1814, M. de Broglie, bishop of Ghent, had addressed a memorial to the congress of Vienna, in which he demanded authority to assemble the principal persons of Belgium, to deliberate upon their interests, and to form a solemn compact with the prince that should be chosen for them, which should have for its principal end, the maintenance of the Catholic religion inviolable in all its rights; the demand came too late, as the treaty of London, of the 20th of June, had already decided everything.

The 28th of July, 1815, the diocesan bishops addressed a protest to the king, of which the following is an extract:

"Sire,—We are obliged unceasingly to warn the people committed to our care, against all doctrines in opposition to those of the Catholic Church. This we cannot neglect, without betraying one of our most sacred duties. And in case Your Majesty were to uphold and to protect, in virtue of a fundamental law of the state, the public profession and the propagation of these doctrines, to the progress of which we are bound to oppose ourselves, with all the eagerness and activity which the Catholic Church expects from our ministry, we should thus find ourselves in formal opposition with the laws of the state, and with the measures Your Majesty might take to maintain them, and in spite of all our efforts for the preservation of peace, the public tranquillity might find itself compromised.

"And since, according to article 136 of the projected new constitution, the public exercise of any worship may be prevented, if there be any danger of its being the occasion of disturbance to public peace, *it follows that the free exercise of our religion might be suppressed in these provinces.*"

The 2nd of August, 1815, the bishop of Ghent addressed to his clergy, and to the faithful of his diocese, a pastoral instruction, of which the following extracts are specimens:

"Liberty is by (art. 196) guaranteed to all forms of worship, by the laws of the state, and (art. 198) adds that every subject of the king is admissible to any of the offices of the state, without distinction of belief. Were you to approve of such a law, you would be thereby sanctioning the dreadful principle that all religions are equally true, and that it is as possible to be saved in one as in another."

The bishop then remarks, that, by the admission of persons without distinction of faith,

"That sooner or later very important offices in this portion of the kingdom would come to be filled by persons of a religion different from our own. Who cannot see at the first glance the

probable consequences of such a result? Our dearest interests, those of the Holy Catholic Church, her laws, her morality, and her discipline, would be in their hands.

"..... In virtue of the authority entrusted to us by the Church, we solemnly protest against the adoption and the insertion of the forementioned articles in the new constitution of the kingdom, and we forbid all of our diocese who are and may be chosen representatives, to give any adherence to them whatever upon any pretext whatsoever."

The bishop of Tournai addressed a similar pastoral to his diocese, dated the 11th of August, and the bishop of Namur had prepared a similar one, which, however, was seized by the police in the hands of the printer, and the whole edition destroyed, a step which was regarded as a somewhat ominous interpretation of the clause in the new constitution which guaranteed the liberty of the press.

The king having, notwithstanding its rejection by the majority, declared by his decree of the 24th of August, that the new constitution had been formally accepted; the bishops jointly published their doctrinal judgment upon it, in which the following passages were found:

"It is to fulfil one of the most essential duties of our Episcopate, and to discharge an obligation to our people, that has been strictly imposed upon us by the Church, that we have judged it necessary to declare that no persons of our dioceses can, without betraying the dearest interests of our religion, and rendering themselves guilty of a great crime, take the different oaths prescribed by the constitution, in which the party taking them is bound to observe and support the new law, or to assist towards procuring its observance."

"To swear," observes one of the Bishops in his remarks on the new law, "to obey or to maintain a law, which attributes to the Sovereign, and that to a sovereign who does not profess our holy religion, the right to dispose of the public instruction, that is, of the higher, middle, and lower schools, is to abandon to his discretion the public instruction in all its branches, and shamefully to betray the dearest interests of the Catholic Church. In fact, by means of a law expressed in such general terms, what limit can there be to the powers of the monarch, and what Bishop is there who would not have just reason to fear, according to the text of the law, an invasion of his own most sacred rights, over the instruction of his Diocese, and especially over the upper and middle schools, destined to receive the Church Students and to form their principles?"

Upon (art 2.) the Bishop remarked, "that to swear to regard as obligatory until it be otherwise enacted, and to maintain all the laws now in force, would be to concur to the eventual execution of

many anticatholic and unjust laws, contained in the civil and penal code of the former French government, which enact many severe penalties against ministers of the Gospel who are faithful to their duties."

The most dangerous person in the eyes of the Dutch court, and the man who had most exasperated it by his active and indefatigable resistance, was M. de Broglie, bishop of Ghent, descendant of an ancient and noble family in France: endowed with great abilities and talents as a preacher, and remarkable for his faith and exemplary piety, he was looked up to in his diocese with general confidence and esteem. He partook somewhat of the man of the world, the lord and the courtier, but the character of the priest notwithstanding predominated. Having been in the outset Almoner-in-ordinary to the emperor Napoleon, and subsequently named to the bishopric of Acqui, in Piedmont, he was for some time a professed admirer of Napoleon, but, when later on in his career, Napoleon, blinded by ambition, began to ill-treat the Pope, M. de Broglie showed him the most determined resistance. He refused the decoration of the legion of honour, in order to avoid an oath that would have bound him to defend the integrity of the empire, to which Napoleon had now annexed the states of the Pope.

When Napoleon, in a council assembled at Paris in 1811, had decreed that the nomination of the bishops should be vested in the chief personage of the state, and that the Pope should be bound to proceed to institution six months after receiving notice of the nomination, and in case of a refusal on his part, the metropolitan should proceed in his place, M. de Broglie, then bishop of Ghent, was among the few to raise his voice to oppose this impious aggression of the temporal power against the most sacred rights of the Pontiff. Whereupon the wrath of the emperor burst upon the bishop; he was seized in his palace, imprisoned in Vincennes, and from thence removed to the isle of St. Margaret. The vicars general and canons were seized, the episcopal seminary suppressed, the students drafted into the army, and M. de Broglie came out of prison only when the allies took possession of Belgium in 1814.

The king having met with so determined a resistance on the part of the bishops, began to see even more clearly than at the commencement of his reign, how justly he had

regarded the Catholic Church as the great obstacle in the way of his policy, and hence he determined to take every measure to sap the church, and to render it pliable to his designs. With this view, in 1817, he selected M. de Mean, in whose character, as appears from the sequel, he seems to have been happily deceived, to be presented to the Pope for the vacant archbishopric of Mechlin. But the Sovereign Pontiff, who had already, in a letter of 1st of May, 1816, approved of the conduct of the bishops touching the oaths prescribed by the constitution, refused to send the necessary bulls, unless the oath of adherence to the constitution were modified. Whereupon M. de Mean, who had already taken the oath, made haste to announce (May 18th, 1817,) that in swearing to protect all the religious communions in the state, that is, the persons who compose them, taken collectively or individually, he had meant merely a *civil protection*, without thereby approving directly or indirectly the maxims that they professed, and which the catholic religion forbids. The Pope was content with this explanation, requiring merely that it should be published in the newspapers, in consequence of which M. de Mean published it in the journals of the 28th of July following, and henceforward the most scrupulous Catholics felt no difficulty in taking the oath. From this time the greatest court was paid to the new Archbishop, as greater condescension was expected from him than from the other bishops, and all kinds of seductions were tried upon him. However, in the end, M. de Mean fell into disgrace at court, and becoming more and more importuned by the government, he discovered that the time for compliments was gone by, and began to show that he felt himself a bishop.

Shortly after the nomination of the Archbishop, the king desiring to disembarass himself of the Bishop of Ghent, directed a suit to be commenced against him, on which he was contemptuously styled "Maurice de Broglie," without any allusion to his dignity as bishop, and several different offences were laid to his charge. On the 9th of October, the court condemned the bishop, who had refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the temporal court, as contumacious, to banishment and the costs of proceedings, and charged the procureur-general to see the decree of the court carried into execution, conformably to article 472 of the Penal Code.

"On this sentence, '*L'observateur Belge*,' a newspaper distinguished by no partiality to the Catholic cause, remarked, 'People would have taken the man for a fool or worse, who in the year 1814 would have thought it possible that before 1818, a bishop could be condemned in Belgium, under a prince not a Catholic, by a secular tribunal, to the punishment proper to a criminal, for having, together with his colleagues, subscribed and published a doctrinal decision on the question of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of an oath, for having written two letters to the pope relatively to certain public prayers that the prince was supposed to require, for having received an answer conformable to the wishes of the government, and having given it immediate publicity, with the double advantage of tranquillizing the minds of the people, and of justifying the demand of the government by the solemn public act in which he acquiesced in it.

"Much less could it have been thought that, without necessity or utility and against all reason, there should have been thrown into the manner of executing the sentence, all that could be devised in the way of ignominy to the person of the accused, of outrage to the religion of which he is a minister, and of insult to a people that has remained faithful to the Creed of their fathers."

The ignominy here alluded to, was the following: there were at that time in the prison of Ghent, two felons, condemned to perpetual hard labour, Joseph Vervæet, and Joseph Schietecat. The former had been condemned on the 11th November, and the other on the 18th, and their sentence contained the additional item of a public branding, and exposition in the pillory. By art. 373 of the criminal code, each criminal should have undergone his punishment three full days after it was passed, that is, for the former on the 15th, and for the second on the 22nd. By article 470 of the same code, the extract of the judgment passed against M. de Broglie for not appearing, was to be affixed to a gallows within the three days of its being passed, i. e. from the 9th to the 11th, in the public market-place. But, with the view of making the sentence as ignominious as possible, and to associate the bishop with the worst malefactors, the 19th of November was chosen, as being market-day at Ghent, and the two thieves were brought out for that day, delaying the sentence for the one, and accelerating it for the other, in order that the writ of M. de Broglie's condemnation might be seen by all the inhabitants, exposed between two of the worst criminals—unwittingly exposing him to the same treatment that a Roman governor and a blinded people had inflicted upon his divine

Master, which did, in reality, but the more redound to his honour. The effect upon the people was quite different from what was expected. It was regarded as a public insult to the Catholic religion, a profanation of a sacred and venerable character, and as such, justly deserving the severest indignation.

The government being resolved to follow up their measures, caused M. Gouban, whom the king had named director general of the Catholic worship, to summon the vicars general to take upon themselves the administration of the diocese, *inasmuch as M. de Broglie was now to be regarded as if he were naturally dead*. The vicars answered, that the civil code did not touch persons declared contumacious until five years had elapsed after the sentence; nor could they admit that the civil authority had the power of setting aside the spiritual character of the bishop. On this refusal, M. Gouban replied: "Gentlemen, you must not now be surprised that I find myself obliged to put *an embargo on your salaries* until you comply with my request. I think I have a right to refuse payment *to those who refuse service*."

The vicars-general having continued to correspond with their spiritual superior, and to publish pastoral instructions emanating from him, this gave occasion to a fresh prosecution on the part of the government. The solicitor-general, Spruyt, maintained before the court at Brussels, that M. de Broglie was civilly dead, that the episcopal jurisdiction was a function of the state, and therefore dependant upon the civil power, on which account it ceased *de jure* and *de facto*, from the date of the sentence passed upon M. de Broglie. This doctrine, which was nothing more or less than the bringing back the times of Henry VIII., and the establishing William "temporal and spiritual head," king and sovereign pontiff of the Catholic Church in Belgium, did not pass in the court of Brussels. Public opinion pronouncing itself so strongly against it, the court acquitted the accused on the 12th May, 1821. The same year M. de Broglie died at Paris, and the diocese of Ghent remained for many years without a bishop, as was the fate, also, of some of the other dioceses, owing to the quarrels of the government with the clergy and the Holy See.

From this time the king's policy may be observed, step by step, showing its more undisguised hostility to the

Catholic Church. In July 1822, an edict was published forbidding all persons to exercise the functions of school-master in the higher branches of education, who had not been authorized by the board of instruction. Another decree of February 1, 1824, extended this decree so as to make it apply to all associations, whether *civil* or *religious*, that were employed in instruction, and finally a decree was issued on the eleventh of February, as a prelude to their entire dissolution, that no person could be received as member, or be admitted to take vows in them, unless provided with certificates of fitness, to be obtained from the agents of the Government.

But the crowning measure on which the king chiefly relied, was the establishment of a philosophical college, in which all who were destined for the ecclesiastical state were to be required to pass two years in study, as a necessary condition for admission into any episcopal seminary. This measure was announced in two separate edicts, both bearing the date of the 14 June, (1825), in the first of which all independent schools and seminaries were suppressed "in virtue of art. 226, which entrusts the public instruction to *our* care;" and in the second, the philosophical college was ordered to be erected near to one of the universities. The ostensible reasons assigned for this latter measure were, the alleged representations of some of the heads of the clergy on the insufficiency of the preparatory instruction for young persons intended for the ecclesiastical state. On the 11th July another edict was published, containing the details of the establishment of the philosophical college, in which occurs the following proviso: That from the date of this day, there shall be no persons admitted into the episcopal seminaries, except such as shall have completed the proper term of study (two years) in the philosophical college. As the professors were to be appointed by royal authority, with merely the form of a consultation of the archbishop of Mechlin, the king felt sure of attaining his purpose, if he could but succeed in gaining into his own hands the whole public instruction, lay and ecclesiastical, and in being able to entrust it to men of his own choice.

"It is impossible to doubt," observes M. de Gerlâche, from whose history these details are chiefly taken, "that this project of William was part of a vast plan concerted with the protestant princes of Europe, and that it was but a step to still more open measures against the Church."—(page 374. vol. i.)

Circumstances also seemed to favour the attempt. There was an aged prelate at the head of the episcopate at Belgium, whom it was expected to be an easy task either to gain over or to intimidate. The press, that had advocated the Catholic interests, or even those of liberty, had been now silenced by the different prosecutions; and the body of the people, wearied with continued change and agitation, had become indifferent. The publication, therefore, of these decrees, did not create any strong immediate sensation; some men only of experience said that the king had been badly advised, and that he was laying the seeds of an insurrection against his government.

The bishops immediately protested to the king against the measure, who gave them nothing but evasive answers. They then wrote to Rome, and were informed that the Pope would represent the matter strongly to the Dutch court, and they would do well to await the result, keeping themselves passive, if any steps were taken to put the decrees into immediate execution.

The government pursued its policy with vigour, and all the necessary preparations were made for opening the philosophical college, which was fixed at Louvain, in the former college of Pope Adrian VI. and the brothers of Christian doctrine, who had large schools in Dinant, Namur, Liege, and Tournai, were suppressed, and the members who were not natives conducted to the frontiers. About the same time different other schools and seminaries, kept by private individuals, both priests and laymen.

The king's object was now to gain the archbishop's consent and approbation of the new college, and every kind of attention was shown him with this view, the project being studiously represented as planned wholly on the interests of the Catholic faith. Happily the venerable prelate was surrounded by prudent and firm advisers, who saw through the scheme, and rejected it courageously.

In the mean time a very animated debate took place in the chambers, in which several very distinguished speakers on the Catholic side claimed, as their last safe resource, universal *liberty of instruction, of the press, and of worship*—doctrines that the clergy of the time were not prepared to accept. "How can *we*," said they, "approve the liberty of all religions, we who believe that there is but one *good*? Truth and falsehood mutually exclude each other. This tolerance which is required from us is absurd, for it sup-

poses an indifference in the matter of religious belief, the most precious interest of humanity, in regard to which we can yield and pass over nothing ; as to absolute liberty of the press, we regard it as an inexhaustible source of calamities.....The spirit of the Catholic religion is a spirit of obedience, peace, and agreement. Liberty of the press, with its sequel of quarrels, abuse, lies, and calumnies, is nothing but combat and confusion, and the annihilation of all principle."

The clergy had not yet perceived that the course proposed was not the positive and absolute advocacy of these liberties as good in themselves, which, on the principle of one and only one true faith, doctrine and worship, they cannot be, but the advocacy of an entire abstinence on the part of the civil power from taking any steps in favour of any doctrine or worship opposed to the interests of the Church. The government at this time was seeking to undermine and cripple the Church, and the Catholic speakers in the chambers claimed, that the government should be strictly neutral, and allow perfect freedom to every creed and sect ; not at all as approving such a state of things *in itself* as the best conceivable for the interests of humanity, but under the circumstances, as better for the Church to be herself free to act in the midst of equally free antagonist and rival doctrines, than to be subject to a government, seeking to fetter her action and tamper with her very existence.

But this by the way. The bishops had informed the king they should refuse to ordain the pupils of the philosophical college, and matters continued in this unsatisfactory state until the year 1827, the seminaries receiving in the mean time no fresh pupils. Negotiations were now being carried on with Rome ; but, as they moved forward but slowly, the Pope showing great patience, the government determined if possible to attempt to separate the Church of Belgium, preserving its hierarchy after the Anglican pattern of Henry VIII. The project for this purpose was drawn up by M. Goubau, by order of the minister, Van Gobbelschoog, and lithographed. Only twelve copies were distributed to trustworthy persons, and the archbishop was pressed to enter into the plan by every art of seduction that the government knew how to employ. There appears every reason to think that these attempts to weaken the Church were made in combination with the governments

of Wurtemberg, Baden, Hesse, Darmstad, Hesse, Cassel, Nassau, and Francfort. But at length the king became convinced of the danger of the plan, and it was given up, it being found impossible to tamper with the fidelity of the episcopate or the clergy. Had Henry VIII. encountered an equally noble body of clergy, we had been spared the memorable and deplorable schism of our own country.

On the 18th of June, a concordat was concluded with the court of Rome, in virtue of which the episcopal theological seminaries were again opened, and the bishops set at liberty to provide at their own discretion for the instruction of the pupils.

Such continued to be the aspect of affairs, when the subject of public instruction was threatened to be again mooted in the chambers in the month of November, 1829. The king had been requested to withdraw the decrees, against which the Catholics remonstrated, but could not bring himself to make any material concession. He consented however to the bishops again opening their smaller seminaries. When, at length, civil and religious discontent had reached so great a height as to break out in the Revolution of 1830, which led to the entire banishment of the Nassau dynasty, the election of the present sovereign, Leopold, and the formation of a constitutional monarchy, of which the equal liberty of all creeds and religious communities is the basis. Leopold was enthroned at Brussels on the 21st of July, in 1831, and in 1833 had to sustain a campaign against a large and well disciplined Dutch army, with which William invaded the country, an invasion which would have terminated fatally to the independence of the new kingdom, had not the French army come to its rescue.

From this short survey of the policy of the Dutch government, it is easy to see that the Catholics of Belgium were taught by a painful experience, the practical lesson which the Catholics of every other part of Europe must sooner or later learn, viz., that in the present aspect of political affairs, the Catholic religion depends in an especial degree for its maintenance and propagation, on the independent efforts of the Catholic body itself in each nation. The old alliance of the civil and ecclesiastical estates has been in point of fact dissolved; and by virtue of the prevalent doctrines of liberty for all creeds and religious communities, as long as they may last, the

Catholic Church will find herself without civil embargo upon her efforts, free to work out the divine mission for the salvation of souls in the next life, and the remedy of social evils and disorders in this. *This* liberty, therefore, is a precious talent which must be turned to its account before it be taken away.

The activity with which the episcopate set themselves to embrace the opportunity thus afforded them by the constitution of their country, of proving the inherent power of the Catholic Faith to maintain and propagate itself, has been judged so creditable to their own zeal and to that of their people, as to have merited to be set forth as an example worthy of being followed by the prelates of Ireland in the rescript of the present reigning Pontiff, which was last year addressed to the archbishops of that country.

It will not be necessary to extend our account beyond the mere recapitulation of the steps taken by the bishops of Belgium for the re-establishment of a Catholic university, these being but matters in the ordinary way of ecclesiastical business. The sterling importance of the event is the example contained in it of energy and wisdom in the heart of the Catholic body, seizing the favourable occasion to put the internal resources of the Catholic religion into play for the wants and needs of its own members. It is the example of a Catholic people acting, whilst others talk and jar with each other, who, instead of being buried in divisions and mutual suspicions, or in lukewarm timidity and vague apprehensions of creating unnecessary labour, set to work to provide an excellent instruction for themselves, and to exhibit the instructive fact to other states, that the Catholic religion has not only charms for men of learning and genius; but, possessing such men, knows how to employ their gifts for the social benefits of the whole body. How much have we Catholics of her majesty's dominions to learn from the study of such an example!

In 1833, in answer to an application to Rome, the bishops received a brief from Gregory XVI. empowering them to erect an university. This was followed in February, 1834, by a circular of the archbishops and bishops to the clergy and people, setting forth the advantages that would accrue from possessing a Catholic university, now that general freedom of instruction was secured by the constitution, and requiring them to make collections in their parishes for its foundation. And on the 10th of June,

1834, the decree for its erection was published, signed by all the bishops of Belgium.

The following account of the inauguration of the new university, which for a short time had its seat at Mechlin, is taken from the "*Acta Academica*."

"The 4th of November 1834, the bells rang early in the morning, as they had done the evening before, to announce the solemnity. At half-past nine the Rector\* Magnificus and the professors, went in a body to the palace of the Archbishop. About ten o'clock the most illustrious prelate, the Archbishop, accompanied on the right by the Rector, and followed by the Vice Rector and other professors, walked to the Cathedral, in which were already assembled the Canons, the Clergy, and the Magistracy of the town, and other distinguished persons. The most illustrious and reverend Archbishop, vested in full pontificals, intoned the hymn *Veni Creator*; and when this was sung, he gave from his throne, to the Venerable Canon Gennerè, his secretary, the decree for the restoration of the University, that it might be read aloud, and after its being read he committed it, accompanied with a short address, to the Rector. The Pontifical Mass then began, and after the Gospel had been sung the Rector preached. The Mass being terminated, the *Te Deum* was sung, and the Archbishop having spent the usual time in prayer, returned to his own palace about half-past twelve."

The day after the professors commenced their courses, which comprised in the beginning only the two faculties of theology and philosophy. In April, 1835, a third joint circular was addressed by all the bishops to their clergy, to obtain collections for the support of the university.

On December the first, 1835, a pontifical high mass was celebrated by the archbishop, in the collegiate church of St. Peter in Louvain, on the occasion of the installation of the university in Louvain, its ancient seat, the authorities of the town having entered into a compact with the university to cede to them four of the ancient colleges, the halls, and various other privileges.

Thus was the Catholic university of Louvain, after a period of thirty-eight years of suppression, restored, to the great joy of the few survivors who were spared to witness the fulfilment of hopes so long delayed. And through the zeal of the exemplary prelates, the university, by the time of its removal to Louvain, had obtained the two additional faculties of medicine and jurisprudence.

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\* The ancient title of the Rector of Louvain.

The university has now a body of between 700 and 800 students, and numbers the ablest and most distinguished men of Belgium among its professors. There are four colleges where students are received, and where they are under a salutary discipline: 1st, for the faculty of theology, 2nd, for medicine, 3rd, philosophy, and the fourth for the earlier branches of education. Those students who live in the town in lodgings, are strictly forbidden to keep late hours, and to be absent from their homes after ten o'clock; and the whole body of students presents a striking contrast to the lawless aspect of things in a German university, a result due to the maintenance of a vigilant and salutary discipline. The statutes of the old university have been revived, with such modifications as were found necessary for an altered state of society; and the old and significant ceremonial for the conferring of degrees, together with many other noble customs of the olden time, are still in vigour.

M. Casimir Ubaghs, the President of the college of theology, has become eminent as a writer on philosophy, and the faculty of theology possesses in all its branches, men remarkable for their learning and ability as instructors. Where all is so excellent it would be invidious to particularize; nevertheless, the course of Professor Tits as the work of an original mind and a keen reasoner, and from its eminently practical bearing upon living principles of error, as current in Germany and elsewhere, could not be passed by without a notice. This course, which will be published when it has received its author's finishing revision, occupies nearly seven years, and consists of four parts.

I. Part. Philosophical, (or, an introduction to the study of general dogmatic theology.)

1 section. A historical review of the principal systems of modern philosophy.

2 section. An exposition of the principles of a true christian philosophy.

II. Part. Treats of the doctrines of natural religion, for two similar sections.

III. Part. Treats of the Christian Religion.

1 section. Historical. The books of the New and Old Testament, and the fragments of the true tradition subsisting in the pagan literature, &c.

2 section. Philosophical. The reasonableness and fitness of the Christian Religion.

IV. Part. Catholic Demonstration.

*Historical section.* takes a view of the substance of the doctrine of the principal Fathers and modern Catholic Apologists, and gives a history of the developement of the Protestant principle into the Rationalism of Germany.

*Philosophical section.* An exposition of the principles of Catholic *belief* and knowledge, and their reasonableness ; or, the doctrine of the institution of the Church explained.

The students of the faculty of theology are principally composed of such as are chosen from the episcopal seminaries, on account of their distinguished abilities, to pursue in the higher branches of theology, a deeper course of study than what is taught in the seminaries. Consequently, according to Solomon's maxim, "*cum sapiente graderis et sapiens eris,*" the Theological College of Louvain in the society of its members, as well as in the kindness of its professors, and the vicinity of a most extensive library, offers every advantage that the theological student ought to desire ; to which may be added, that the necessary expenses of a student are exceedingly moderate, and the habits of the students themselves highly frugal and exemplary.

Would that we could look forward to the time when the zeal of the Catholics of Great Britain shall become such as to bring forth fruit similar to this.—However, a good university is the work of time and grace, and cannot be called into being by any human fiat. It would be an idle dream to expect any such thing at once ; yet at least this one eminently practical lesson may be learned—that when the Church obtains perfect freedom from the temporal power, to put forth her resources for the work of instruction, which is her proper work by a divine charter, she is bound to seize the favourable moment and set to work. In whatever way or form it may present itself, her work is ever one of active unceasing instruction, and active unceasing labour to put to rights the disorders of society, and to remedy the evils to which it is subject, and from which it suffers. England, at this moment in particular, is crying in every part of the kingdom for persons qualified and able

to instruct and to lead a well disposed and enquiring population to the knowledge of the Catholic Faith; to teach them to abhor those vices, to which for want of instruction and warning they fall an easy prey. In a word, our need on all hands, is for an exemplary clergy to win and to teach the people. But this clergy, we need not say, will not fall from the skies; they must be gathered from the ranks of the people placed in seminaries, patiently and vigilantly taught. And to this end our seminaries are not fully adequate. Now at least if we are not in a condition at once to follow the example of Belgium, let us all embrace with one heart and soul the principle from which it has flowed, viz. that the propagation and maintenance of the Catholic Faith, in an age that clamours for universal civil liberty, looks to the zeal and activity of her own children, and depends upon her own internal resources, and her own inherent powers. Oppression and contempt has not been our lot so long without leaving its baneful effects behind. But now the day of favour and mercy is coming, and it is our bounden duty not to let it pass by. Education, in all its forms, is now our great work. External peace and freedom of action is ours: we have the divine word saying, "Go ye and teach." What then do we want? An increase of zeal and of the love of God.

ART. III.—1. *Oestreich's Befreiungstage! oder der 13, 14, und 15 März, 1848 in Wien.* (*The Liberation Days of Austria, or the 13th, 14th, and 15th of March in Vienna.*) Vienna, 1848.

2.—*Wider Seine Schein-heiligkeit Papst Pius den IX., und fur das Verheirathen der Katholischen Geistlichen.* (*Against his seeming Holiness Pope Pius IX., and for the Marriage of the Catholic Clergy.*) Vienna, 1848.

3.—*Die Pressfreiheit und das Pressgesetz, Von Dr. J. U. BERGER.* (*The Liberty of the Press, and a Law for the Press, by Dr. J. U. BERGER.*) Vienna, 1848.

4.—*Ueber Pressfreiheit und Pressgesetze fur Oesterreich, von J. G. NEUMANN.* (*The Liberty of, and Laws affecting the Press in Austria, by J. G. NEUMANN.*) Vienna, 1848.

5.—*Unsere Gegenwart, von CAMEO.* (*Our Present Position, by CAMEO.*) Vienna, 1848.

- 6.—*Der rechte Augenblick*, von CAMEO. (*The right Moment*, by CAMEO.) Vienna, 1848.
- 7.—*Was ist, and was enthält eine Constitution?* Von EMERICH, von LEGRADY. (*What is a Constitution, and what is comprehended by it?* by E. von LEGRADY.) Vienna, 1848.
- 8.—*Des Constitutionellen Oesterreichers politischer catechismus.* (*The Political Catechism of a Constitutional Austrian.*) Vienna, 1848.

IN the month of September, and in the year 1838, the writer of this article was present in the cathedral of Milan when the brows of Ferdinand, emperor of Austria, were bound with the iron crown of Italy, as supreme sovereign of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. Ten years had not passed away, although their course was nearly completed, when the same writer stood on the ramparts of Vienna, and saw the revolted, or rather revolutionized subjects of the same emperor, with arms in their hands, practising the trade of soldiers, and as civic recruits reviewed by a field-marshal of the empire. At that moment the soldiers of the emperor had been driven from Milan, and the emperor himself was contemplating a flight to Innspruck from the citizens of Vienna.

The coronation of Ferdinand at Milan, was not a mere emblem of the downfall of the French principles that had at one time prevailed in Lombardy; it was a fact which every concurrent circumstance corroborated—not less proved by the fifteen thousand Austrian troops, who were reviewed in front of the Porta Orientale, than it was testified in the loyalty, the love, and affectionate demonstrations of the people towards every member of the imperial family, with the exception of the archduchess-empress, Maria Louisa, whose presence upon that, as upon every other occasion of a similar kind, proved that her attachment was with her family, and never had been with that gigantic parvenu to whom a political necessity had wedded her. The coronation at Milan, and under the same sacred roof where Napoleon had been crowned, was not less a demonstrative proof of the annihilation of the usurper, than the review of the national guard of Vienna by field-marshal Hoyos, was incontrovertible evidence, that the lustre of the imperial diadem had been dimmed by coming in contact with the rude hands of insurgent citizens.

Of all the revolutions of modern times, the most important as well as the most interesting, the most strange as

well as the most unexpected, was that which took place in Vienna in its "three days of March" of the present year.

Paris made vacant with a brief struggle the crown of an usurper; Berlin relied more upon its arms than the word of its monarch, and therefore it had a blood-stained revolution; but Austria, whose sovereigns have ever had loving subjects, destroyed in a moment a system which had been settled for ages, and that required all the sagacity of the wisest statesman of the century to preserve in its pristine strength, when the customs, manners, and even thoughts of all other portions of Europe were undergoing a change.

Austria was revolutionized because the sovereign of Austria preferred the lives of the the citizens of Vienna to his own prerogatives, and because he willingly sacrificed his interests to their wishes. What a pity it is that the people did not prove themselves more worthy of so good a king, or that they should have so conducted themselves as to afford to future tyrants the pretence for affirming, that it is more prudent for a sovereign to resist than to yield to popular demands, that the revolted subject cannot safely be treated with tenderness, and that there is danger to the monarch who concedes what is just, when the concession may appear as a submission made from fear, and not from the conviction that it has been too long refused.

There is much instruction for the rulers and the ruled in the history of the revolution of Vienna; but the attention which the event merits has not been bestowed upon it, because there was not much blood shed on the occasion. Its apparent peacefulness has doomed it to an undeserved obscurity; for the readers of English journals are in one respect like to the readers of the French *feuilletons*—they take no pleasure in perusing over details which are not dabbled with human gore; they regard that as a dull political event which narrates nothing more than the parental virtues of a monarch; they wish for accounts of battles, they revel in a carnage, they are only contented when they have before them the most minute particulars of a popular massacre, like that of Paris last June. Their hero is a Robespierre or a Cavaignac, and their favourite author the "great unknown," who does "executions" for the morning papers!

All that a nation could demand, all that a people could require, all that a monarch could concede, except his crown, were not merely yielded, but bestowed upon his

subjects by the Austrian emperor. He gave all these, on condition that he should obtain peace—that the rights of others should be respected—that the power yielded to the populace should not be exercised for the purposes of persecution. The conditions were not fulfilled—the violators of the compact were the enfranchised populace. Those who had been apparently contented, and certainly were tranquil, when they had neither liberty of speech, nor freedom of the press, nor trial by jury, nor a constitution, became riotous, discontented, persecuting, tyrannical—rebellious even in their bearing to their sovereign. These are strange facts—they are not creditable to the subjects of the Austrian emperor; but still they can be accounted for, and an explanation of them may tend to make us wiser—perhaps better men.

What we have to state may not be popular, but it is true, and therefore deserves to be known.

There was a time when the fault to be remarked in literary men, was, that they flattered kings, and shrunk from the exposure of their vices. Modern literature errs in the opposite way. It flatters popular passions, and succumbs to popular prejudices, and is reluctant to laud kings, when those kings are so far removed, that they may be equally unconscious of what is, to them, alike useless praise and ineffective censure.

Having no object in view but the promotion of the cause of truth, and no purpose to serve but in its promulgation, we wish now to draw the attention of the reader to the most remarkable of all the wonderful revolutions of the year 1848—the Viennese Revolution of March—its causes and its consequences. *The latter we have seen*, not merely in Vienna, but in Berlin, in Prague, and in the metropolis of the German parliament, Frankfort-on-the-Maine. When we know why revolutionary liberty has not given peace in Vienna, we have the explanation afforded why revolutionary liberty has not diffused the blessings of peace, contentment, and happiness, in any part of Germany.

The form of government that prevailed in all parts of Germany, previous to the revolutions of 1848, was that which can alone be designated a pure despotism. Each sovereign, whether kaiser, king, or grand duke, was, in strict accordance with Doctor Donnegan's definition of the word *Δεσποτης*, "one who rules as a master over his slave

with uncontrolled power.”\* As it is not permitted to the slave to murmur against his master—as the slave is not permitted to hold any species of property, but with the approval or connivance of his master—as the slave is not permitted to depart from the farm which he cultivates, or the burgh he inhabits, but with the sanction of his master—so were the Germans treated, and so ruled by their several governments; and therefore the liberty of speech, the freedom of the press, the enjoyment of property, and even the capability of locomotion were restrained or enlarged, modified or abolished, in accordance with the will of the rulers, and not because it was either admitted or supposed that there was an inherent right in the ruled to exercise as they wished, such privileges. The despotism might be, as it was in many places, a mild despotism, or it might be a harsh, cruel, teasing, and pedantic despotism as it was in Prussia; but in the former cases it was mild, because the despot chose to make concessions; or it was a harsh despotism, because the despot chose to strain his power to its utmost limits: “*Alii enim liberiori, alii adstrictiori nexu obligantur.*”† In Germany, where the name of “*slave*,” as applied to a degraded race of men, first originated, ‡ the harshness of slavery has been for the longest period most rigidly maintained, even though its bitterness might occasionally be disguised beneath the forms and the courtesies of civilized society. It was easily perceivable in the uncompensated and forced labour of the peasant, although it might not, at first sight, be distinguished in the towns, in such places, for instance, as Vienna, which, so long back as the year 1230, was recognized by Frederick II., as a permissible home or refuge for runaway serfs and slaves.

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\* Greek and English Lexicon, p. 407. Edition 1842.

† Potgessier, *De Statu Servorum*, Lib. v. c. ii. p. 824.

‡ The Slavi first defeated by Charlemagne, were subsequently conquered by Otho, Henry the Lion, and Albert the Bear, and such numbers dispersed as slaves over the different parts of Germany, that the name which first distinguished a nation, at length was used as the denomination of class. The proofs are afforded by Potgessier that it was the practice amongst the ancients, both Greeks and Romans, to retain the name with their slaves of the nations to which those slaves had formerly belonged. See Potgessier “*de variis servorum speciebus eorumque nominibus*,” in “*Statu Servorum*,” Lib. i. c. iv. p. 286. note b.

It was in Vienna that despotism was to be found in its most agreeable form, and slavery in its least repulsive aspect; for there the despotism was, in fact, that of a truly kind, tender-hearted, and affectionate sovereign; it might be termed that which is an indispensable despotism; the despotism of a good father over a large family of children, as yet incapable of guiding and governing themselves.

"In short," (says a modern traveller who visited Vienna when it was thought the system he described was to be for ever preserved,) "there is not the slightest appearance of despotism, save the censorship and the unjust restrictions on foreign literature, together with the rigour with which political babblers are punished. The code of laws deserves the most attentive study; impartial justice between man and man is its distinguishing feature, and mercy characterises all its enactments; hence, the punishment of death is only inflicted in aggravated cases of murder. The fine arts, commerce and agriculture, are encouraged; the landsman is rich, and the peasant can live comfortably; the taxes are moderate, property is protected by the strong arm of government, and crime, in its revolting forms, is nearly unknown. In short, the whole legislative system tends to the maintenance of public order, and the most paternal solicitude is constantly manifested for the comfort and happiness of the public. However, we must admit that the exterior forms are but little calculated to please the passing stranger; the system of espionage, which places every traveller on his arrival under the surveillance of the police; the list of tiresome queries he is obliged to answer, such as, 'What is his object in travelling? How long he intends to remain? If he has sufficient fortune to support himself? If he has letters of recommendation? and to whom? His profession? Religion,' &c. The search after books, papers, &c., through his baggage: the despotic manner in which they are seized and read; and then, if found to contain anything that the chef de police may deem revolutionary, the unlucky owner is conducted most uncereemoniously across the frontier: the repeated demands for his passport, and a hundred similar disagreeables, all tend to impress the traveller with the conviction that he has entered a country groaning beneath the iron rod of despotism; let him, however, patiently surmount these obstacles, and establish a character as a good citizen, who has not the most remote intention of attempting to subvert the established order of things, and every annoyance will disappear, and he may afterwards live quite as free under the despotic rule of Austria, as in the home of liberty itself, old England; he may become a member of club-houses, in which the liberal papers of France and England are allowed admission. During my residence, I have frequently had liberal publications transmitted to me without being once opened by the police. However, I would recommend every

traveller to beware of conversing on politics, people consider their own affairs of paramount importance to those of the state!

"Notwithstanding the mild paternal character of the Austrian government, still the idea of being subject to the unlimited control of one man, whose humanity is the sole guarantee against tyranny, is but ill-calculated to satisfy the independent spirit who has once enjoyed the proud privilege of being free. It cannot be denied that the influence of public opinion in Austria, controls despotism, and prevents the exercise of atrocious violence against the property or personal freedom of the people; to which may be added, the character of the sovereigns who have been, since the union of the house of Lorraine with that of Hapsburg, distinguished for virtue and patriotism; yet even these are very inefficient substitutes for a representative government, and for the confident assurance that no tyrant dares invade the rights of the humblest individual; for in Austria, as in other despotic countries, not excepting France, a man may be incarcerated for life upon the unsupported testimony of some designing villain, without the power of demanding a public trial."\*

It might be easy to show that the Germans in former times enjoyed more of legislative power, or, in modern parlance, of *constitutional* power, than has been permitted to them for many years, or rather centuries; † whilst, at the same time, the great body of the people in ancient, as well as modern times, have been slaves. "*Liberti non multum supra servos sunt.*" ‡ "*Adhuc hodie in Cathedris juridicis quæritur: an homines proprii, die Leibeigene, in Deutschland sint servi? quod idem est ac si quærerem an ensis sit gladius, cum æque servus, et homo proprius in significatû juris gentium sint synonymi.*" §

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\* Spencer's Germany and the Germans, vol. ii. p. 163-165. London, 1836.

† Tacitus, de Morib. Germ. §. 11, 12, 13, 22. *Lex consensu populi fit, et constitutione Regis.* Carolus Calvus in Edicto Pistensi. "*Denn, wenn Sie*" (die freyen Leute) auch keinen so starken Einfluss in die Berathschlagungen selbst hatten, so war doch ihre Beystimmung nothwendig." Schmidts Geschichte der Deutschen, B. 3. c. x. vol. i. pp. 532, 533. note y. See Ermold. Nigell. Carm. de Gest. Ludov. Lib. i. 113, 119.

‡ Tacitus, de Morib. Germ. §. 25.

§ Thomasius, de Jure dandæ civitatis, §. 32. as quoted by Biot, Part. 5. c. 2. p. 363. The word "*Lidus, Leud, or Latt* means" says Schmidt, "any one who has a lord, or master," and in another pas-

We may not deem it to be necessary to enter into an analysis of the ancient liberties of Germans, although the point is one that cannot have escaped the consideration of their statesmen or their legislators. Those who seek to imitate ancestors by their customs—vile as some of these were—such, for instance, as that of intoxication; and dangerous as others must be, as, for example, the effort to defy by the willing exposure of their bodies to all the rigours of a German winter,—are persons who can never be forgetful that they are the children of the Suevi.\* Our main purpose is with the recent condition of Germany when that was disturbed, or, more properly speaking, destroyed by the revolution of March.

Vienna, the ancient *Castra Flaviana*, the capital of the heir to the Holy Roman Empire, was apparently in a state of perfect repose at the commencement of the present year. It was the abode of the best of emperors, the wisest of politicians—of the very Nestor of statesmen—of the greatest diplomatist of any age, or any country—Prince Metternich. Its new-year's-day (a Viennese festival) was a day of tumultuous joy; its hours seemed to be marked by processions of mighty magnates, whose costly garments were decorated with jewels sufficiently rich and rare to be worth large lands and treasures of gold—its people were never more vivacious; its waltzes never more untiring, and from the mechanic to the emperor but one wish could have been expressed, viz., that such happy days might continue for ever. If the thought of another revolution in Paris

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sage he observes, "between such, the Liden, and the Coloni, or peasantry (*bauern*) there was little distinction, theirs was an intermediate condition between freedom and slavery." *Geschichte der Deutschen*, vol. 1. pp. 544, 545. But persons in this condition often were permitted to exercise greater power than those of free or noble birth. "*Super ingenuos et, super nobiles ascendunt.*" Tacitus. Germ. §. 25. At length services which it was the office of slaves to discharge, came to be regarded and treated as dignities even by independent princes: thus the Elector of Bohemia was arch cup-bearer of the holy Roman empire, the Elector of Bavaria arch-steward, &c. See Ducange, in verb. *domesticus*, and *Rer. Gall et Franc. Script.* vol. iv. p. 477. notes, g to l.

\* See Cæsar de Bell. Gall. Lib. iv. c. 2. In this chapter is depicted the same species of gymnastic exercise, which is now practised by the modern *Turners* in all parts of Germany.

crossed the mind of any one, it would have been as vain to speak of it, and thereby to excite apprehension as to the stability of Metternich, as to warn a fair lady, who was about to take part in a quadrille at Almacks, of the instability of human life, because Lisbon might be visited with another earthquake! In both cases the danger would be regarded distant if it did occur, and improbable if it might ever occur. In either case, alike out of the sphere of a happy Viennese, whose well-supplied table displayed the wines of Hungary, the sea-fish of Trieste, and the fatted fowl of Styria. What had the merry-maker of Vienna on the "*Neujahrstag*" to do with a revolution in Paris, when he was aware that all the evil consequences of the last had been evaded by lowering the price of provisions? that with a plentiful meal for the poorest man in the empire, the propagandists of Paris who had ventured to show themselves in Vienna.

"We were obliged to make a speedy retreat, after being kicked out of all the coffee-houses, the beer-houses, and wine-shops in the metropolis; and nothing was heard in the streets but loud vivats, and the people singing the national anthem,—

"—— Gott erhalte Franz, den kaiser,  
Unsern guten kaiser Franz."\*

To express then an apprehension on new-year's-day, 1848, of a revolution in France, when Louis Philippe had incarcerated Paris within a continuous line of bastiles, or to suppose that a French revolution could penetrate the palace-gemmed suburbs of Vienna, and front Prince Metternich himself in the Josefs-Platz, would be as stupid, as improper, and as nonsensical, as to talk of growing pine-apples in Siberia! The iron railroad might have been permitted to span the Danube, because it was grateful to the Viennese to see, and advantageous to them to use; but for a Gallic revolution to explode within hearing of the Aulic chancery, was deemed to be not less impossible than improbable. And yet this perfect confidence in the future might, judging from the past, have well been felt. It did not seem misplaced, even though there were dark clouds louring over every part of Europe, from the bay of Naples to the bay of Dublin—even though there was to be found either in the heart of every empire some fierce and efferves-

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\* Spencer's *Germany and the Germans*, vol. ii. p. 161.

cent nationality determined to burst forth; the Sicilian from the Neapolitan, the Sclavonic from the German, the Celt from the Saxon, the Pole from the Russian, the Italian from the Teutonic—or, that the furious passions of infidelity were aroused, and raging to glut themselves in the persecution of the pious, as in Switzerland—or, that the brave and the lovers of truth, freedom, religion, and legitimate monarchy, were writhing beneath the oppressions of ruthless tyrants, who called themselves “Constitutionalists,” or, of church robbers who dignified themselves with the title of “liberals,” as in France, and Spain, and Portugal.

In every country events afforded the assurance that continued quiescence was impossible, change certain, and revolution not impracticable. But one empire seemed to be assured against the common danger from without, and that was Austria; but one city safe from internal commotion, and that was Vienna. Fenced round by the policy of Metternich, the loyal subjects of Ferdinand might feel with respect to the efforts of republican propagandists, as the citizens of Tyre once felt, when they looked with haughty contempt upon the soldiers of Alexander, busily engaged upon constructing in deep sea water a mole whereby it was hoped to overcome them in their otherwise impregnable position:—“interrogabant etiam num major Neptuno esset Alexander.”\*

How then came it to pass, that if France gave the signal for revolution in February, Vienna should have been in March *the city* which should demonstrate not merely to Germany, but to every part of the world, that revolution was practicable wherever a sufficient number of persons could be collected together who were tired of the existing state of things, and who saw in a change the chance, if not the certainty, of improving their condition? From the days of Catiline to the present, there have ever been found ready propagandists of revolution: “*incerta pro certis, bellum quam pacem malebant.*”† But in Vienna, the marvel is how such a class of persons should so far predominate, as eventually to win for themselves the mastery over a metropolis, in which previously they did not appear

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\* Q. Curtius. Lib. iii. c. 2.

† Sallust. Cat. c. 17.

to exist? The question is an interesting one, and because we believe it to be pregnant with instruction, we shall endeavour to give to it an explanation, which, to be fully comprehensible, must enter into a good many details.

There are two important facts to be borne in mind with regard to the Viennese Revolution. The first fact is, that the revolution never could have been successful if the emperor Ferdinand had firmly determined to prefer his own authority to the lives of his subjects,—that at the time he yielded, he had at his command an army which could have crushed (and that, too, in the course of a few hours) the efforts of the insurgents,—that he might have slaughtered them if he chose to do so,—that he voluntarily yielded when he had the power to resist, and that he did so solely because he would not stain his prerogatives by the effusion of blood,—that the lives of his people were more dear to him than his own crown.

This is the first fact which the reader should bear in mind, although the ungrateful Viennese have acted as if utterly forgetful of it.

The second fact, and it is one not less important than the first, is, that Vienna has been afflicted with the mania of a revolution, because in its enjoyment of all the pleasures of this life, it has been forgetful of the blessings of the next,—because, although nominally Catholic, it has been bound but by the slightest ties to the chair of St. Peter, the pope's Bull, in accordance with the *Placitum Regium*, being no better than a passport, and requiring the *visé* of a policeman to give it validity in Austria;\* because, indulging in sensuality, it has regarded with an evil eye those great monastic orders, which are great by reason of their members being living examples of the mortification of the senses,—because the past history of the Germanic empire, of which Vienna is the capital, is degraded by many persecutions of many noble pious pontiffs,—because modern history shows that the worst persecutor of monks and Jesuits, was one who was himself a citizen of Vienna—Joseph II., Emperor of Germany.

The decrees of Joseph II.—the imperial citizen of Vienna—striking down and spoliating the religious orders in all parts of his dominions, were worse than the worst of

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\* See "Report from Select Committee on Regulation of Roman Catholic Subjects in Foreign States." p. 7. and appendix, p. 74-120.

the "diabolica capitula" of his predecessor Louis;\* for Joseph suppressed not less than three hundred religious houses; abolished, with the exception of some five or six, the diocesan seminaries; permitted that which the church will never allow, divorce between those who are married in accordance with the canons; robbed the monasteries of their libraries;† and filled with dismay and horror, wherever his sacrilegious hand could reach, every pious community in the empire. Terrible, by his desecration of the sanctuary, he was contemptible even in the beggarly minuteness with which he sought to carry it into effect. Schismatic and heretical in his dealings with the Pope and the Church, he reckoned the candles on the altar, and prescribed the number that should be lighted at each particular service!‡ The pupil of a Jansenist, and a disciple of "the philosophers," he was, in fact, a demonstrator to the nascent atheists of the French Revolution, of how much mischief may be done to the Church of God by any impious man who has at his command a large array of temporal power. The example he afforded was imitated; the tyranny which revolutionizes all things to gratify its own passions or prejudices, taught by the emperor, was practised by the convention, and to him beyond all others—to him far more than to Voltaire, or Rousseau, or the Encyclopedists, or to Mirabeau, or Danton, or Marat, are we to trace the worst deeds of the first French revolution. *His reforms were their precedents*, and in carrying them out, in unfixing men's minds, and in unsettling the established order of

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\* See Annal. Berlin, ad an. 814, in Rer. Gall. et Franc. Script. vol. vii. pp. 85, 86, and that paragraph especially, in p. 86, commencing, "Imperator post paucos dies, patratu a comitatu suo multis deprædationibus."

† See a most valuable article on the Bollandists, in Duffy's Irish Catholic Magazine, No. xvii. p. 123.

‡ "Niet alleen vernietigde hy de broederschappen, verminderde hy het getal der feest-dagen en der processien; maer zelfs schreef hy wetten voor op het getal der Missen, op de manier van naer den middag het lof te doen, en op het getal der keersen, welke in den Godsdienst mogten branden." Smet, De Roomsche-Catholyke Religie in Brabant, p. 302. For a full account of the religious persecution and spoliations of Joseph II, in the Netherlands, see same vol. pp. 301, 328.

things,\* he not only helped to bring his sister to the scaffold, but he taught the world that there are times when insurrection becomes a virtue, and when the rebel's doom may also be a crown of martyrdom; as, for instance, when heretical kings persecute the faith, and compel their subjects, as he did the men of the Low Countries, to choose between their allegiance to their sovereign and their God, and to shake from them the former, in order that they may save themselves from the sin of schism.†

The decapitation of Marie Antoinette, the defeats of Austerlitz, and of Wagram, the degradation of the marriage of Maria Louisa with an arrant political impostor, were some of the immediate temporal punishments upon the family of "the philosopher and the despot,"‡ who had persecuted the Catholic faith, and who had left to kings and nations alike his evil example and his perverse teaching.

The lectures of Joseph's favoured professor, Stoöger—lectures that inculcated principles adverse to those of the Catholic church—have produced their fruits in the university of Vienna, where they were first delivered,§ and we shall soon see some of their results.

We have, however, now stated, as we conceive, sufficient to show, before entering upon a narrative of the events at Vienna in March, the necessity and importance of bearing in mind these two facts; first, that no revolution could have taken place if the emperor had not preferred the lives of his subjects to his own privileges; secondly, that previous to that revolution, and disposing them to it, the minds of many persons in Vienna, as well as in other parts of the

\* "Ce fut la principale faute de Joseph celle qui le fit passer pour tyrannique aux yeux du public, et il faut convenir que c'est violer en quelque sorte le droit des gens, que de vouloir changer les coutumes consacrées par la proscription et par l'usage, à moins qu'on ne le fasse d'accord avec la nation." *Life of Joseph ii.* by his panegyrist Caraccioli, as quoted by Feller, vol. xi. p. 313. Edit. 1836.

† Smet, *De Roomsche-Catholyke Religie in Brabant*, pp. 326, 327.

‡ "Joseph était philosophe dans ses opinions et despote dans sa conduite." *Revue Chronologique de l'Histoire de France*, p. 72. ad an. 1790.

§ Smet, *de Roomsche-Catholyke Religie &c.* pp. 311, 312.

Austrian dominions, had been infected with irreligious notions, so that, whilst indulging their own passions, they were strongly inclined to persecute those religious orders, who deny themselves every worldly solace in order that they may the better devote themselves to the salvation of their fellow creatures.

Guided by the knowledge of these two facts, we shall be the better able to understand both the progress of events at the Revolution, as well as those which subsequently occurred.

An assembly of the states of Lower Austria had been summoned to Vienna by the emperor. The day fixed for its meeting, was the 13th of March, and three days previously, the members of "the Trades' Union," or "Operatives' Association" at Vienna, had determined upon presenting an address to the states, begging of them to ask the emperor to make the following concession: first, an immediate publication of the income and expenditure of the state; secondly, a general and periodical assembly of all the nations of the empire, as well as of the various classes and interests through representatives, to whom should be entrusted the voting of taxes, with controul over the finances, and a participation in the making of laws, (*Theilnahme an der Gesetzgebung*); thirdly, a law by which might be determined the liberty as well as punished offences of the press; fourthly, publicity of trials, as well as in affairs of the government; fifthly, a law for the regulation of municipalities, by which the interests of agriculture, industry, trade, and commerce, might be represented.

Such were the *popular demands*, and if these were conceded, it was to be expected that the Viennese would be contented. Such, at least, was the promise made when the Address, with some thousands of signatures, was delivered for presentation on the 11th of March.

On the 12th, the students of the university held a meeting, in which a petition, containing the same requests, was agreed to. An effort was made to dissuade these young persons from taking any part in politics. It was made in vain, for not only did they persevere in their intention; but, becoming excited by the opposition offered to them, they declared their determination to go in public procession the next day with their petition.

At this time there were in Vienna, or bivouacked around

its walls, an army of 18,000 men, the very flower, it might be said, of one of the finest armies in the world, a body of men completely devoted to the emperor and his family. These soldiers had been so collected by order of Prince Metternich, who had seen from the first the agitation that prevailed, and who had thus prepared the means of overawing and suppressing it. How his policy was defeated is easily explained.

On the morning of the 13th, the soldiers were in marching order, and prepared, as well as willing, to act in any emergency in which their services might be required. The students, however, carried into effect the determination they had expressed. A body of them, numbering in all four thousand youths, marched from the university to the assembly house, and were accompanied by an immense multitude, so that, in a short time, the court of the assembly house, the street in front, as well as all the streets approaching to it, were filled with a dense mass of persons, especially of the working classes. Whilst a deputation of the students proceeded to present the petition, some of their members began addressing the mob outside; and as their speeches were not interrupted, all the streets adjoining were supplied with extemporary orators, so that there were appeals to the passions of the listeners going on at the same time in various streets and squares; and, at last, bolder propositions were made in words than had been expressed in writing. The spirit of the bravest man may be quelled in solitary confinement; but amid the excitement of a sympathising multitude, a craven may assume the demeanour of a hero, and make demands when he has the voices of thousands to echo his sentiments, which he would repudiate if required to give expression to them when alone. And so it happened on this occasion. Those who had approached the assembly of the states to support by their presence the petitions in the Address we have already mentioned, were now heard in accordance with the suggestions of the mob-orators, demanding with loud and tumultuous cries "the liberty of the press," "a constitution," "a responsible ministry," "a national guard," "liberty of religious worship, of conscience, of instruction," "publicity of government," "abolition of the secret police," and "the removal of Prince Metternich." It was while this tumultuous scene was passing around the assembly house, that the side doors were, as usual, closed, and

instantly a cry was raised, that the students' deputation had been made prisoners. The mob were appealed to to rescue them, and in a moment afterwards, the doors and windows were dashed in. The riot was, however, for an instant, quelled by the appearance of Count Colloredo-Mansfield, who mentioned that the Popular Address had been received by the states, and by them laid before his majesty, who had promised to take its requests into consideration. This declaration was speedily followed by the appearance of the military, in front of the assembly house. They advanced against the mob, and were driving them back, as a compact mass of disciplined men can always force back a large multitude unacquainted with military manœuvres; they were driving them back without using the least violence, when some of the rabble tore down pieces of wood, and flung them at the staff-officers of the Archduke Albrecht. One of the pieces struck the archduke, and either he himself, or some of the officers around him, (for the fact is not positively known which), indignant at the outrage, gave the word to "fire." The order was obeyed, and five men were shot dead on the instant, and amongst these was the student who had first commenced haranguing the multitude. The mob instantly fled. They attempted to collect together in other parts of the town—in the Judenplatz, Farbergasse, Jordangasse, and Pariser-gasse. In the last-named street they erected a barricade; but there, as well as every other place where they endeavoured to make a stand, they were assailed by the military, and with little trouble, and no loss of life, put to flight.

These events occurred between ten in the morning, and five in the afternoon, when a proclamation appeared, stating, that "lamentable riots had that day interfered with the deliberations of the states of Lower Austria, that these states had expounded to his majesty what were the prayers of the multitude, and that his majesty, upon the assurance that the public peace would be no further disturbed, had consented to have the Address presented to the states subjected to the examination of a committee, and upon the result of that examination his decision would be pronounced."

At this period the fate of the Austrian empire was decided: The city was then occupied by the soldiery. All the public institutions were under their protection; the gates were held by them, and they could have invested the city,

prevented any ingress or egress, and cleared the streets of all disturbers. As soon, however, as the emperor had heard that five or six of *his Viennese* had been shot in the street, and when his ears were filled with the noises caused by the conflict between the soldiery and the multitude, he came to the determination to yield every thing sooner than cause the death of another citizen of Vienna. The friends of the emperor remonstrated; but it was useless to argue with him; his only answer was, "he would have no more bloodshed." The precautions taken by Prince Metternich thus proved of no avail. The will of the emperor was omnipotent for peace—for a concession to the popular demands—for any thing and every thing which might tend to save his people from death by the sword and the cannon. The hands of the military were thus paralyzed; and as their inactivity was speedily noticed, riots burst out afresh, lanterns were broken, sign posts were torn down, and some of the windows of the public buildings smashed in presence of the soldiers. The courage of the students was again aroused, and they determined then, on what they had not previously thought, of dividing themselves into companies, and sending a request to the emperor, that he would permit them to have arms.

By this time, it might be said that the work of the revolution had been accomplished. The soldiers, who had preserved order, were forbidden to interfere further; they were openly insulted by the mob, and were not allowed to resent it. An overwhelming force stood paralyzed in the presence of a comparatively few, who indulged in riots, and excesses of all kinds. The influence of Metternich had ceased, and he then determined on resigning a post which he had long held with honour to himself, benefit to his sovereign, and advantage to the empire. He, whose policy had unthroned Napoleon, was driven from power, office, and imperial dignity, by the tumultuous gathering of beardless boys, and of a ruffian rabble! The administrator who, whatever faults might be found with him by others, was at least worthy of a golden statue in the latrarium of his emperor,\* was expelled, and his downfall celebrated as a triumph—as if he had been nothing better

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\* "Imagines eorum aureas in latrario haberet." Capitolinus, M. Anton. Philosop. Hist. August. Script. vol. i. p. 297.

than a Sejanus. It is not our province to be the panegyrist of Prince Metternich. If we were so, we should only make a vain effort to remove that unpopularity which has long fastened upon his name in this country; but this we cannot avoid observing, that if we regard him *solely as an Austrian minister*, he extorts our admiration; because, we must look upon him as one, the main object of whose life was to retain in its integrity the empire of which he was the protector—to preserve in their allegiance the various and hostile nations of which the Austrian empire is composed—to guard his sovereign from hostilities abroad, and the subjects in peace at home—to raise up amongst *the poor* in each particular nation, as contradistinguished from the nobility, the fastest friends to the monarchy—to establish a fallen dynasty, and reorganise a society which had been ruined by wars and foreign invasions; to save the throne, and to control the disaffected, and to do all this by his own energies, and finally to bring it to perfection by his sole unaided statesmanship. It is but justice to a fallen minister to refer to these facts; and our excuse for doing so is, that we will not follow the example of the mob of authors, who have no words of praise but for the unfortunate, and who are ever ready to detract from the merits of those who have been defeated: “non enim, ego id faciam, quod plerique scriptores solent, ut de his detraham qui victi sunt.”\* There are passages in the political career of Prince Metternich to be disapproved of; there are others, which, if they cannot be explained,—such, for instance, as the massacres at Gallicia—that are deserving not merely of condemnation, but of the reprobation of every man, and especially of every Catholic. Considering him, however, *solely* in that light in which we at present desire especially to regard him, we shall find that the peace that prevailed previous to his downfall, and the confusion, tumult, anarchy, and bloodshed, subsequent to that circumstance, are in themselves the best panegyric upon his policy, and the strongest proofs that he was alone fitted, if his advice had been followed, to stem the torrent of events, and to prevent them from overwhelming his sovereign and the empire in one common destruction.

Between the hours of five and nine o'clock on the evening of the 13th of March, the fate of the Austrian

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\* Lampridius, Anton. Heliogab. Hist. August. Script. vol i. p. 879.

empire was pending upon the discussion that then took place in the palace. It was decided, when the emperor rejected the advice of Prince Metternich, and accepted his resignation.

At nine o'clock it was announced that the emperor had assented to the arming of the citizens and the students, and that Prince Metternich had resigned. This announcement appeared to be the signal, not for peace, but for disorder. It seemed as if all the tutelary deities of the empire had abandoned Vienna when Metternich fled from it:

"Excessere omnes adytis, arisque relictis  
Dī quibus imperium hoc steterat."\*

In all parts of the suburbs, bands of ruffians were to be found, plundering houses, setting them on fire, robbing the peaceful passengers; the custom houses were delivered to the flames and destroyed; the villa of Prince Metternich, and many private as well as public establishments were attacked; upon the glacis, the gas candelabra were smashed, and the furious jets of flames cast up from the broken columns, caught the adjoining palisades and consumed them; so that Vienna appeared for a time to be belted round with fire. The iron railings of the Vienna bridges were broken down. Mischief was let loose, and completed the destruction which spoliation and crime had commenced. The revolutionists, who sought but for changes which would be agreeable to themselves, found that they had let loose robbers and villains, who desired to convert to their own pecuniary profit the cessation of that vigilant control which had been hitherto exercised over them. Anarchy prevailed where order had hitherto predominated; and as the arm of the military had been paralyzed, and as the burgher guard was barely sufficient to protect the inner town from conflagration and robbery, it was necessary to arm the students at once, and send them to the outer town, or suburbs of Vienna, for the purpose of checking outrage. It was about midnight that the students marched out of Vienna, and their numbers were found sufficient, wherever they appeared, to overawe the thieves of the suburbs in their depredations.

On the morning of the 14th of March, there was pub-

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\* Virgil, *Æneid*. Lib. ii. 351, 352.

lished a proclamation from the emperor, in which was notified his majesty's permission to the students to arm themselves, and an appeal to the citizens to enrol themselves in the burgher-guard, whilst, at the same time, a request was made to all the owners of houses, fathers of families, masters of factories and workshops, to keep their domestics and operatives within doors, so as to prevent the streets being filled with idle persons.

This proclamation was followed by the distribution of arms, not only to the students, but to all others who notified that they were anxious for the preservation of the peace, by wearing a white band on the arm, or a white cockade in the hat. In the course of a few hours, forty thousand stand of arms were thus distributed; and at eleven o'clock it was declared that the armoury had been exhausted of every warlike weapon, some of these being manifestly arms which had been employed when Vienna had been last besieged by the Turks.

No sooner had the revolutionists obtained possession of arms, than the burgomaster, with a deputation, was sent to the emperor to request his approval to "the establishment of a national guard." The deputation was sent at twelve o'clock, and without waiting for a reply from his majesty, it was notified that the enrolment of the national guard would take place at three o'clock. Such was the occupation of the revolutionists in the city; whilst outside robbery and destruction of property were carried on in a most lamentable manner. The Mariahilfer church and convent were plundered; factories in Miedling, Atzgersdorf, Himberg, &c., were burned to the ground; and although the rioters were offered by the factory owners whatever sums of money they choose to demand to spare the machines, the money was refused, and the machines destroyed; and yet, so capricious were the mob, that whilst they spared the houses of butchers and bakers, who bestowed upon them bread and meat, they invariably tore down the houses, and destroyed every vestige of property of the butcher and baker who presumed to ask the price of his goods from those who had come determined to rob him.\*

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\* "Lætantur prædones, et exultant lictores capta præda: convertuntur vomeres in gladios, et falces in lanceas, non est, qui in latere non deferat chalybem et lapidem in præparationem

At three o'clock, and whilst the citizens were engaged in enrolling themselves as a national guard, there appeared a proclamation from the emperor, some sentences of which are worthy of translation, as demonstrating the opinions of his majesty, and proving that he felt he had been deceived when he had made the concessions previously demanded from him.

"During the commotion of yesterday, certain requests were made to his majesty the emperor, which requests were granted by him, in the settled hope, and in full reliance upon the assurance given to him by the states, the burghers, and the academical senate, that peace and order would thereby be restored, and without having recourse to any further employment for an armed force. To-day other requests are laid before him, and the same assurances are repeated, although affairs are in a still more disturbed condition than they were yesterday.

"The security of the throne must be shaken should his majesty again yield to deceptive hopes. It is impossible in times of excitement, for his majesty to take into consideration, much less to establish institutions suitable to the empire. Hence it is plainly the interest of those who make these requests to maintain the peace, and thus bring themselves nearer to that period of time in which may be granted what is sought for by them."

This proclamation concluded by stating, that for the purpose of maintaining the dignity of the throne, and securing the peace of the city, Field-marshal the Prince de Windischgratz had been appointed to the supreme command over the civil and military authorities, and all were called upon to aid him in the attainment of these objects.

This proclamation was the last appeal made against a violent revolution by the emperor. It was not responded to. On the contrary, a deputation of twelve was sent from the Riding School, where the names of persons disposed to act as a national guard were inscribed, and that deputation was required to see the emperor, and to make these two demands: first, to assent to the institution of a national guard; second, to concede the liberty of the press. Whilst this deputation was absent, violent speeches were delivered, and the effort was made to induce the people to determine upon a revolt, should their requests be refused. The

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incendii et in exustionem." *Conradi Episcopi Chronicon*, as quoted by Schmidt, *Geschichte der Deutschen*, B. 6, c. 16. vol. iii. p. 190.

Prince Windischgratz struggled to the last to induce the emperor to be firm. The mind of his majesty had, however, been shaken, and his nerves shattered by the clamour and the bloodshed of the day before, and by the fires which glared around Vienna during the preceding night. Both requests were granted, and in the evening two proclamations appeared, the first announcing the institution of a national guard for the protection of life and property in Vienna, and also stating that Field-marshal Hoyos had been named commander-in-chief; the second stating that the censorship of the press had been abolished, and that a law for regulating the press would be published as speedily as possible. These proclamations were followed by the announcement that Count Apponi, and the president of the police, Count Sedlnitzky, had resigned.

Within Vienna itself peace was preserved on the night of the 14th, and in the outer city and the suburbs it was secured by the students, who, now that they had obtained arms, made use of them, and wounded or shot down the robbers they encountered. *More persons were slain and maimed by the students than by the soldiers, even when the uproar in Vienna was at its height.\**

On the morning of the 15th of March, a proclamation appeared, summoning a meeting of all the states of the empire, of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, as well as of the Germans and Slavonians, and fixing the place and time of their assembling to be in Vienna of the 3rd of July.

At twelve o'clock on the same day, the emperor, accompanied by the Archduke Francis Charles, and his son, the Archduke Francis Joseph, and unattended even by a single dragoon, appeared in the streets of Vienna. He was received with demonstrations of the most enthusiastic joy. The emperor, unarmed and unprotected, thus appealed to the loyalty of an armed and an excited multitude. They appeared for the moment to be worthy of such a proof of confidence. They wished to remove the horses from his majesty's carriage, and thus draw him in triumph through the city; and they only abandoned that intention at the special request of the emperor himself.

The emperor had yielded all that had been asked. He

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\* Oestreich's Befreiungstage, p. 54.

now added to these a boon which no one had formerly demanded from him; for, in a proclamation that appeared at five o'clock the same evening, and which was read in the streets of Vienna by the heralds of the emperor, it was declared that the states were to be summoned from all parts of his empire, for the purpose of bestowing "a Constitution" upon Austria.

We must borrow from an eye-witness and an Austrian, a description of the manner in which the reading of this proclamation by the heralds of the emperor was received:

"It would," says the writer, "be impossible to depict the impression produced upon the public by the bestowal of this completely unexpected gift from the emperor. It is not for the pen to pour-tray it, to describe it, to specify it—it was a thing to be *felt*—it was worth a whole life to experience it.

"Scarcely had the word *Constitution* fallen from the lips of the herald, than, like a spark which had fallen on inflammable matter, it kindled up a fire which blazed around on every side. Heralds on horseback and on foot, in one hand bearing a white banner, and in the other the beneficent proclamation, and crying out with an untiring voice the words, "*Freedom of the press,*" "*a Constitution,*" rushed through all the streets, through the suburbs, and far and away beyond the outermost lines of Vienna. That single word "*Constitution,*" gave on the instant an impulse to the billows of time, which will be felt over the entire surface of the world, and that will come dashing with an oceanic force against many a rock of despotism, foaming against, shattering, and submerging it.

"As soon as the intelligence reach the University, its bearer was immediately surrounded by the students. They at once gathered together in the square of the University; there the proclamation was read by them; the signal for prayer was beaten by the drums, and in an instant all fell on their knees, raised high their hands in air, and with tear-bedewed eyes gave expression to their gratitude. Oh! it was a glorious moment. Enjoy it! fully enjoy your happy freedom! Give full vent to your feelings, generous youths; for if a victory has been gained, you have had no slight share in the combat.

"Never, never can be forgotten that hitherto unknown feeling—that which was excited upon beholding an entire people made happy, as if by some heaven-bestowed blessing. Then was what might be called an universal embrace; then were hands shaken which never before had touched each other; then were beheld the cordial kindly salutes of mutual enemies, as if they ever had been friends. *Italians and Hungarians clasped Germans to their hearts;* then the first, the most lovely fruit of young freedom, was the commingling of all adverse national prejudices into one feeling,

and that was the love, and with the love the happiness of one common father-land."\*

Under such auspices commenced the new order of things in Austria. There was henceforward to be nothing but peace, law, order; a Constitutional Emperor; a responsible government; an united empire; liberty of the press; freedom of speech; freedom of conscience. How long were those promises kept? Not even for a single hour; for at the very moment that the proclamation of the emperor was diffusing the joy which is depicted in the preceding paragraphs, there had arrived in Vienna a deputation of one hundred and fifty magnates and Jurats of Hungary, headed by the eloquent Kussuth, who came to demand, under the name of a distinct administrative government for the country, a separation from the crown of Austria. "The liberty of the press" was interpreted in a week to be an unlimited license to publish in pamphlets or by placards whatever malevolence, slander, infidelity, or disloyalty might dictate: the "freedom of speech" was supposed to confer a right upon the ventilation of slander, or of visiting with the indignation of the rabble, by means of a Charivari, (cats' music), those remarkable for their dignity or their piety; whilst "freedom of conscience" exhibited itself in the persecution, and even the spoliation of property, of those who had abandoned all things for conscience' sake. Instead of peace, there was discontent; instead of law, there was violence; instead of order, there was tumult.

Three weeks had not passed away from the accomplishment of the revolution in Vienna, until the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom was in open insurrection, and Austrian soldiers were expelled from Milan, and from Venice, whilst Vienna was crowded with the representatives of the different people which compose the Austrian empire, and each demanding a separate nationality for itself, or the power of dominating over some other nationality. Each was dissatisfied with its immediate neighbour; all discontented with Austria Proper; and Austria Proper itself, agitated, querulous, seeking for change, and demanding each day some novelty which it supposed might be an improvement. Vienna seemed to be afflicted with a

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\* Oestreich's Befreiungstage, pp. 39, 40.

complicated epidemic, the fever of an exciting commotion, and a famine for great, sudden, and incessant changes. It is in the following manner that the editor of the Vienna newspaper remonstrated with his fellow citizens on their unreasonable course of proceeding:

"That of which we stand most in need is, *patience*. There are many persons who fancy that all their wishes can at once be gratified, and all their private interests attended to. Many calculate on seeing each day new laws decreed, which may affect, in a greater or a less degree, our system of taxation, the press, education, and trade; and there are even many who are impatient for the appearance at once of a complete constitution. An ancient edifice has been cast down, and a new building is to be erected in its place. We cannot hew out stone in a particular form—we cannot begin to frame doors and windows until the plan of the entire building is completed. We require a strong, habitable, healthily-situated mansion, such as may suit our condition, open to the sun and the air, protected against all assaults, and able to resist every storm. That, then, of which we stand most in need is *patience*, and with it an unreserved, unconditional confidence in our honest constitutional emperor."\*

The people of Vienna did not, however, long restrict themselves to the mere asking for changes; they determined themselves upon enforcing them, and they commenced with attacking those who had, since the reign of Joseph II., been respected in Austria—the Catholic clergy, and the monastic orders. They compelled the Pope's nuncio to remove from the front of his palace the insignia of his office; they insulted the archbishop of Vienna in his mansion, and forced him to do that for a mob, which, as a prelate, he had previously expressed his disinclination to do; and lastly, they assailed, in a most brutal manner, the holy members of the pious order of the Redemptorists. The writer of this article was in Vienna at the time the outrage was perpetrated on the Redemptorists—when their place in the city was taken possession of by the mob, and they were obliged to appeal to the more respectable members of their persecutors—the National Guard—to save them from personal violence, and not improbably from assassination. We endeavoured to ascertain what charges could be alleged against the Redemptorists. "They were," said their enemies, "*Jesuits*; that *Redemptorist*

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\* Wiener Zeitung, April 1st. 1848.

was only a nickname or cloak for a *Jesuit*; and next, that they devoted themselves to the instruction of the poorer classes—to servants particularly; that they induced those servants, especially females, to be constant in their attendance at the confessional.” “But why,” we asked, “object to them on the latter ground?” The answer given to us, and we regret to say it was by a Viennese Catholic, was, “that through the confessional the Redemptorist gained influence over rich families; that the piety of the servant corrupted the mistress, and made her often have a greater respect for the priest than for her own relations.”

The gentleman who gave us this answer, admitted that though he called himself a Roman Catholic, he did not go to confession; and we add with much pain, that the same answer was given to us by other nominal Catholics in different parts of Germany. The hatred, we believe, felt to the Redemptorists, arose from their success in purifying the morals of the lower classes, and because their labours imposed a complete check upon the infamies previously practised in private houses. What we mean may be surmised without further explanation.\* We asked for a single, well-authenticated instance in which it could be shown that the labours of the Redemptorists had not been devoted to the promotion of purity, charity, and domestic peace. We asked in vain. No such instance could be mentioned; but then it was said that they ought to be driven out of Vienna, “*because they were Jesuits.*”

With such sentiments as these infecting the minds, not merely of an irreligious mob, but of a sensual middle class, we cannot be surprised to find that the moment the press was let loose from all restraint, that libellous attacks should be not only made upon the Catholicity and the celibacy of the priesthood, but that even the most beloved and most venerated living being in the world—Pope Pius the Ninth—should not be spared. We have given the title of an infamous brochure addressed to his holiness, and we extract, as a specimen of the manner in which “the liberty of the press” is exercised in Austria, a single extract from it; but we will not contaminate our pen by its translation:

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\* See Spencer's *Germany and the Germans*, vol. ii. pp. 170, 171.  
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“Keine Sünde war zu gross, kein Verbrechen so blutig und gräuelvoll, dass man sich nicht einem Ablass dafür zu Rom hatte erkaufen können. Man beschuldigt Papste aller Lasterthaten, des Meuchelmordes, der Blutschande, Unzucht, Giftmischerei. Aber wehe! demjenigen, der ihre Heiligkeit in Zweifel zog, sie bussten es mit dem martervollsten Tode. Die usurpirte schreckensherrschaft der römischen Kirchenfürsten war eine Ausgeburt finsterner Jahrhunderte.”\*

As a proof of the terrible state in which religion is, not merely in Vienna but in other parts of Germany, we shall contrast the preceding slander on Rome and its Pontiffs with the following paragraph, which describes the grief experienced upon the defeat of the deistical Strauss, when seeking to be returned as a representative to the German Parliament at Frankfort.

“*Ludwigsburg, April 30.*—Black banners wave over all our fountains; black flags are exhibited by every house; many of the men wear black crape on their hats and arms, and the women are to be seen with black ribbons and rosettes. Never, since it was first founded, did our town present so melancholy an aspect. This deep—this heartfelt, and this not mere outward show of grief, is occasioned by the defeat of Strauss, the renowned author of ‘*The Life of Jesus*,’ and who has so recently won for himself new fame in the field of statesmanship, by his clear, clever, and at the same time moderate political contributions to the *Swabian Mercury*. All Ludwigsburg, without a single exception, voted for Strauss,—the agricultural district for his opponent, Hoffman, whose property has now to be protected by a guard of forty men.”†

Such is the condition of the public mind in too many parts of Germany,—such is its impiety! There is slander and persecution for the Catholics; irreverence for what they deem most holy; and respect for those who have misapplied their talents by fostering, promoting, and diffusing infidelity.

An unreasoning faith may degenerate into superstition. An irrational disbelief is sure to develope itself in blasphemy. The superstition and the blasphemy of the Germans who are not catholics, and yet claim for themselves the title of Christians, is well described by Andersen in one of his interesting tales:

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\* “*Wider Seine Schein.—Heiligkeit Papst Pius den ix. p. 1.*

† “*Frankfurter Oberpostamts Zeitung, May 3rd. 1848.*

"Amongst the festival days," he observes, "we have one in honour of the holy kings; and yet what did these kings? they knelt before the crib of Christ, and therefore we honour them. And yet we have no festival day dedicated to the Mother of God. On the contrary, the most of us smile when we hear but her name mentioned."\*

Wherever the disbeliever or the apostate is possessed of power, that power is invariably exercised in the persecution of the Catholic Church. It has been so with the "constitutionalists" in Spain, and the "liberals" in Portugal, as well as the modern "revolutionists" and "republicans" in Germany. In Vienna alone, where one of the first demands made was "freedom of religion, and of conscience, and of instruction," (*"Religions, Gewissens, und Lehr-freiheit,"*) it was found, that no sooner had the request been complied with, than the use made of it by the armed students, citizens, and mob, was to force the emperor to suppress the Redemptorists, to sequester their property, as well as the property of other religious orders in the Austrian dominions; and at length the intolerance and tyranny of those who had petitioned for "freedom of speech," and "the liberty of the press," compelled the emperor to fly from Vienna, and seek for refuge amongst the Tyrolese, whose love of liberty is alone exceeded by their attachment and devotion to the Catholic Church.

The Revolution in Vienna has had many deplorable consequences. From it sprung the carnage at Berlin, which would have been a most wasteful loss of human life, if it had not been interrupted by the concessions of the Prussian king, at the very moment when his soldiers were about to defeat on every point the revolted citizens; to it also can be traced, as a primary impulse, the useless loss of life in Schleswic-Holstein, the bombardment of the lovely Prague, the city of St. John of Nepomuck, the capital of the enthusiastic Czechs—the cruel massacres in the Grand Duchy of Posen—the vain insurrection in Cracow—the bootless battle of Donaushingen—the devas-

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\* "Unter unseren Festen haben wir eins für die heilige Könige; was haben diese Könige gethan? Sie knieten vor der Krippe Christi, deshalb ehren wir sie. Die Mutter Gottes hat dagegen keinen Festtag; ja die Menge lachelt gar bei ihrem Namen." O. Z. Theil. i. c. 3. Andersen's Gesammelte Werke, vol. vi. p. 27.

tation by fire and sword of the banks of the Danube—the bankruptcy of thousands—the stoppage of trade—the paralyzation of commerce—the utter beggary, want of employment, and frightful destitution of millions of the working classes.

What is the good hoped for from all this? What is to be the compensation for all these evils? Not that of which Germans have written and harangued the most—the establishment of one, united, imperial, Germanic crown; but that of which they think the most,—the formation of one grand Germanic Republic; for it is towards such that all their wishes are directed. The tendency of every aggressive government is to a centralization of power, and with power centralized in France, and power centralized in Russia, it is certain that Germany, (supposing her to be desirous of repelling the infidel democracy of the one, and the schismatical despotism of the other,) would stand in need of so much centralized power as would enable her to resist both, with a prospect of success. Such a government with an honest Austrian, and not a double-tongued Prussian, at its head, might be good for Germany itself, and not injurious to its neighbours. It would be far otherwise with an universal German Republic, a republic, “one and indivisible,” as in France; for we must remember that, at the best, all great empires are great tyrannies, exhausting the extremities to overflow the centre; despoiling distant lands of the necessities of life to make the capital superabound in luxuries; sacrificing a province to enrich the imperial citizen; a nation to make a principality for a noble; many kingdoms to exalt a despot, and decorate him with an imperial crown; treating as slaves the many and the inert, and placing a ban upon the few who aspire to freedom. There is hope for the subjects of a mighty empire which is ruled by a single man, because the tyranny may be as short-lived as the tyrant; there is a chance of a fair government when such an empire is ruled by an oligarchy, because their mutual hatreds and rival ambitions may render them desirous to compete for popular applause, and to defer to public opinion. But of all despotisms, that which is the most hopeless, the most sordid, and the most unprincipled, is that of an enormous republic ruled by men of strong passions and weak minds; for there is not either individual responsibility of danger, or of a sense of honour in the

misgovernment and the misconduct of the many. Fear precedes and desolation follows such an imperial centralized republic. It is, whilst it continues, as a flight of locusts.

When we pronounce an opinion against a centralized Germanic republic, it is not because we consider catholicity and republicanism incompatible with each other. The example of the United States proves far otherwise. We object to a German republic, because we have seen the Germanic nations incompetent to exercise the powers entrusted to them, using those powers to insult the weak, to afflict the pious, to oppress the good, and finally to force their rulers into an unjust and aggressive war. When they have proved their capacity for self-government, we shall not desire to see them prevented from adopting that particular form which they may deem the most consistent with their own liberty and prosperity; for, in this respect, we adopt the opinion of a cardinal and a Jesuit, Bellarmine, even though we find it quoted by an opponent to that creed of which Bellarmine was so illustrious an expositor:

"Pendet a consensu multitudinis super se constituere regem vel consules, vel alios magistratas ut patet: et si causa legitima adsit, potest multitudo mutare regnum in aristocratiam aut democratiam, ut Romæ factum legimus."\*

Religion is not to be confounded with tyranny, nor is it to be supposed that its sympathies are with despotism, because deism declares itself a republican, and atheism canvasses for followers, and claims votes under the pretence that it is "a friend to freedom" and "the rights of labour." Most socialists are for universal suffrage. Admitting them to be sincere, it does not follow that the christian is an aristocrat, nor the monk an admirer of despotism.

To the rulers, even more than the ruled, the Austrian revolution, and the events in Germany, are, we state for the second time, pregnant with salutary warning. These two great facts should never be forgotten by them.

The first great fact is, that a government which is not wise enough to make necessary reforms, whilst there is still time to make them, and thereby forces a people to

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\* Bellarmine as quoted in Ranke's *Historisch-politische Zeitschrift*, vol. ii. p. 601.

take up arms to assert their rights, is a government which at last places itself in this predicament: that if it yield to an armed force, the first demands made from it only postpones its own annihilation; and if it refuses them, and is defeated, it brings down upon itself, and on the instant, the punishment which its past misdeeds have merited, and in its fall nations rejoice, whilst the justice of God seems to be accomplished even by the hands of wicked men.

The second great fact is, that once a government arrays itself against the gospel, and lends itself to the persecution of those religious persons who have devoted themselves to the service of the Church and the poor, it makes an enemy of heaven, allies itself with demons, does the work of the great enemy of mankind, and whilst it corrupts the hearts, and stimulates the passions of the people, it also prepares the way for its own downfall. Sooner or later will descend upon the crown and the sceptre that have been thus misemployed the malediction of the Most High; a strange race will fill the throne of the persecutor, as in England—hate and strife tend to the extermination of the royal race, as in Spain and Portugal; or the immediate descendants of the persecutor shall, despite of their personal virtues, be bowed down with degradation, as in Austria, and suffer the consequences of wrongs which they had not themselves provoked. The extinct line of the Tudors, and the broken line of Habsburg, attest not less the crime than the punishment of the families of Henry VIII. and Joseph II.

The Austrian Revolution and its consequences have filled us with sad forebodings as to the future fate of Germany. Both, we must candidly admit, tend to vindicate the stringent police government of Prince Metternich; as if he were conscious that neither the Germanic nor Slavonic races were fitted for self-government, and therefore could not, with safety to themselves nor to others, be permitted freedom of speech, or of action, as being alike incompetent to employ the one with prudence, and the other with justice.\*

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\* "Much time was wasted during this day," (the first day of the opening of the German Parliament at Frankfort-on-the-Maine,) by propositions which found no seconders, and by speeches which could not procure patient listeners. The want of knowledge in conducting Parliamentary business, or, in fact, the business of any public meeting, was most lamentable, and was equally displayed by the

We fear much for Germany and its future, for all its political changes have been won by the sacrifice of human life; and it is our firm conviction that the robe of freedom ought not—must not ever be stained with blood. That “damned spot” can never be washed out; it corrodes, it cankers, converts that which might be a panoply for a people into a tunic of Nessus, poisoning the wearer by its pressure, and at length impelling him, by the agony of his torture, to his own destruction, prepared to plunge with suicidal despair into an abyss of anarchy, or rendering him a willing victim on the fiery altar of despotism.

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ART. IV.—*Eleven Years in Ceylon.* By MAJOR FORBES, 78th Highlanders. 2 vols. 8vo. Bentley, 1840.

THE facilities for travelling about are now so great, that there are but few parts of the world that are not visited. And the result of all this going to and fro over the earth is shown in the numberless works of modern travel which are almost daily issuing from the press. And yet, though there is a great increase of general knowledge respecting foreign countries, and almost everybody is acquainted with the most commonplace differences between one country and another, yet there is surprisingly little advance made in a real and intimate acquaintance with the feelings, tastes, and temper of mind of other peoples—all, in short, which constitutes their essential difference of character.

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President of the assembly and the majority of those who are its chosen members.”—*Frankfort Correspondence of the Morning Herald*, May 22nd, 1848.

“Among ninety-two members now elected in Bohemia, there are not less than forty peasants. The same is the case with Styria, where there are thirty-one peasants among seventy-five deputies, by far the major part of whom do not understand one word of German. It is certain that the great majority of the assembly” (the Austrian Constituent Assembly) “will consist of men without political education, without any idea of the questions of the epoch, and who are totally unable to understand or join in the discussions.”—*Times*, July 5th, 1848.

Nor is this at all to be wondered at, if we look at the temper with which a modern traveller goes abroad. Instead of endeavouring to make himself for the time being one of the people with whom he is, he guards all his little national ways and feelings more jealously than his virtue. Instead of striving to enter into the feelings and tastes of others, and to understand their way of looking at things by viewing them from the same point, he seems to be quite afraid of sympathizing with them, and to think that the only way of preventing his national character from being spoilt, is by having a sort of noble contempt for everything that he sees abroad, and a feeling of compassion for their want of *civilization*, because their ways are not like his own. It is only when his prejudices are fairly worn out, and the real character of a nation is forced upon his observation by a long residence in a country, that he comes to understand their ways, and appreciate their character. And this very superficial way of observing things is no doubt the cause of what others must have observed as well as ourselves—namely, that Protestants who make a tour in a Catholic country, so generally come back disgusted with what they have seen, while those who have resided any length of time in one are as generally pleased with it.

It is not surprising, then, that one cannot often come at the real spirit and character of a people by reading the books of modern travellers. And this remark applies to the numerous works that have appeared upon Ceylon. Of these there has been no want. Among those we call to mind at the present moment there are, besides the work we have placed at the head of the present article, De Butt's *Rambles in Ceylon*, Knighton's *History*, Bertolacci's *Book*, intended to show its commercial capacities, Heber's *Journal*, Campbell's and Perceval's *Works*, and Davy, who investigated the island as a naturalist, and who gives us some very interesting accounts of the plants and animals, and of the experiments he made with snakes. There is also another *History* by a Portuguese of the name of Ribeiro; but the writer, whose work still stands pre-eminent, notwithstanding all that have succeeded it, is Knox, who was there in the time of the Dutch, having been kept a prisoner in the interior province by the native king of Candy for many years, where he had great opportunities of making himself acquainted with the country and its in-

habitants, their manners and habits. And as he made a good use of those opportunities, and has given us an account of all that he saw or heard, in a simple unpretending style, his work is an interesting as well as a valuable one.

From these sources a curious and entertaining account of the island may be derived. Several of these works contain a great deal of information on those subjects which will most interest general readers in the present day. Still they do not, it must be confessed, supply all that is wanted. There is a class of readers, though perhaps not the largest class, who seek a deeper knowledge of a place than a mere acquaintance with its wild sports or commercial capacities, with its scenery and wild animals, its facilities for travelling and dining. Interesting and even important as these are in order to gain a full knowledge of a place, they are but accessories after all to what is much more important, viz., the study of the internal character of a people, their state of feeling on moral and religious matters, and the way in which they are accustomed to view things in their every day affairs, and in their relations to one another. And such an account of Ceylon as this—a history not merely of facts, but of the philosophy of them—is still a desideratum.

Major Forbes's book is one of the most interesting of the modern accounts of the island, and contains some spirited accounts of its wild sports, as well as some graphic sketches of its characteristic scenery, and of the habits of the natives. There is also some very interesting information respecting the early history of the island, and of the ruins and monuments still remaining. But neither this nor any other book contains any adequate information on the particular point of view which we have selected as the subject of the present article—viz., the History and Prospects of the Church there. The only work from which we have been able to derive much assistance, is from an article that appeared some years ago in the first number of the *Catholic Colonial Intelligencer*, and from which we shall make one or two extracts.

Before, however, entering immediately on our subject, it will be necessary to give a brief sketch of the character of the island and its inhabitants, such as may suffice to make our future remarks better understood.

It lies between the parallels of 6° and 10° N. latitude,

and between 80° and 82° E. longitude, and is situated very nearly at the extremity of the great promontory which forms the west side of the Bay of Bengal. It is on the Coromandel coast, from which it is separated by the straits of Manaar, about twenty-six miles across at the nearest point. A reef of sunken rocks, so near the surface as to prevent the passage of vessels of any considerable burthen, connects the island with the continent of India. This reef, which goes by the name of Adam's Bridge, runs from the small island of Manaar, off the mainland, to the island of Ramiseram adjoining the coast of Ceylon. It seems to have taken its name from an ancient tradition which makes the garden of Eden to have been situated in Ceylon, out of which Adam was driven after the fall, and it is probably from a part of the same tradition that one of the principal mountains in the island is called Adam's Peak. Ceylon is in shape like a pear, being about 270 miles long and 145 miles broad. In area it is two-thirds the size of Ireland. It has been known by various names. By the Greeks and Romans it was called Salice and Taprobane; in the Sanscrit writings it is called Lanka; among the Arabs it went by the name of Serendib; among the Portuguese by that of Selan; while in the Singhalese annals themselves, it is denominated Singhaladwipa, Island of Lions. Though situated so near the equator, the climate, compared with that of the continent, is very temperate. Most of the chief towns are on the coast, and so are refreshed by the sea breeze. Other places, again, in the interior, are on high ground, where the temperature is of course much lower. And though the power of the sun is always very great, yet being near the equator, there is very little difference in the length of the days. The longest is not more than twelve hours and twenty minutes, so that the nights being a good length, but a small elevation is sufficient to allow the air to cool by night, and to keep it so during the day when the sky is overclouded. Another thing which renders the temperature cooler is, that, in consequence of the extreme fertility of the soil, the foliage is so dense and so universal that the sun's rays can seldom penetrate to the earth. And the forests of cocoa nut with which all the lower parts of the island are filled, are peculiarly adapted to keep the air cool; as while their leaves afford a pretty thick shade against the sun at the height of 70 or 80 feet, their bare

and slender trunks leave all the space below free and open for an unimpeded current of air to cool and freshen it. Notwithstanding this however, the heat is in some places very great wherever the land is low or sheltered from the wind. Towards the sea coast, as also all the northern part of the island, the country is inclined to be low and flat; but as we approach towards the centre there is a great crown of high and mountainous country, which rises so abruptly that it would be perhaps impossible to construct a carriage road to ascend it by, except at some points. This mountainous tract of land rises towards the centre to the height of 7000 feet, and at this elevation there is a small town called Nuwera Ellia, too cold indeed to be frequented by the natives, but the great resort of Europeans, not only from the lower parts of the island, but also from the continent of India; as the low temperature and bracing air render it a most excellent place for the restoration of invalids, and those who suffer from the weakening effects of the climate.

The climate of Nuwera Ellia is as delicious a one as we could suppose to be found any where. Twice in the year the enjoyment of it is for a time interrupted by the monsoons, when the rain is sometimes incessant, and the plain covered with a fog: but with this exception, the air is light and bracing, and the atmosphere so pure, that the deep blue sky seems almost as if it could be touched. The weather, too, is for the most part very fine, and the thermometer so low, that in the morning and evening a fire is very acceptable. There is in the high lands something like a change of seasons, one part of the year being colder than another. And it happens now and then that the nights in the month of January are cold enough to freeze water, which, however, is soon melted when the day breaks. In the lower parts of the island the year is broken by no perceptible change of seasons, but month succeeds to month in one unvarying summer, the leaves ever falling and budding out afresh, and the trees and fields bearing twice a-year. Indeed, some of the trees do not recognize seasons at all, but bear at whatever time they find most convenient, or rather go on bearing continually as they have strength. Though, for the most part, the monsoons have an influence over the crops, or perhaps over the husbandman, who finds it more pleasant or more profitable to cultivate the land at one time than at another.

The scenery of Ceylon, and especially of the mountainous part of it, is exceedingly fine. Nuwera Ellia itself is a small plain surrounded by hills, but the view from the top of them, or in the descent to the lower country, is magnificent. On one side of the plain is a mountain called Pedro-talla-galla, the summit of which is about three miles' journey from the town below, and which is the highest point in the island, being about 8700 feet above the level of the sea. It is ascended by a very steep and rough path, which can just be climbed by a horse. The jungle on all sides is uncleared and very thick, and it is not an uncommon thing in ascending the hill, to meet with an elephant or two browsing. The coldness of the climate here is very apparent in the trees, which are short, crooked, and stumpy like English trees, and covered with moss and lichen, instead of being straight, clean, and tall like those in warmer parts. When within about five minutes of the top, you come to a little open, plain piece of ground, through which runs a beautifully clear stream which rises from some springs out of the hill, and running down, swells into the largest river in the island, winding its circuitous course for perhaps a couple of hundred miles, till it runs into the sea at Trincomalie. Another source of the same river, the Mahavelliganga, is at the foot of Adam's Peak, a very high conical hill lower down the country, which may be seen from Pedro, and looks quite close, though some forty miles distant. The view from the top of Pedro is the most magnificent that can be imagined. On one side you look down into the quiet village of Nuwera Ellia, shut in by ranges of hills which are also beneath you, so that you can look over them into the country beyond, and see all the country round marked out like a map into distinct parts. The country in one direction is marked by high ranges of hills with little or no wood on them. In another direction it is cut up into large patches of coffee plantation. Places that it would take days to reach are now seen so near that one can realize being in them, and one feels in a greater degree, what we dare say many of our readers have experienced after having passed by a quick train from one place to another, as if one was mixed up with the feelings and business of several places at once.

The climate of Nuwera Ellia itself is too cold for the growth of coffee, which has lately been cultivated so much and with such great success in Ceylon. But a little lower

down the temperature is very favourable, and where the soil is good, as it is for the most part, the land has been bought up, and the forest, all but a few scanty trees, cut down and burnt; and amidst this ruin of nature the young coffee plants are seen, at distances of about a yard or two from one another, making their way through the great stones and stumps of trees, and the huge trunks themselves lying across one another in every direction, blackened or charred by the fire. Such is the appearance when the young plants are first removed from the nursery. After two or three years, however, they cover over all this unsightly mass of destruction, and the face of the country begins once more to look green. The coffee plant is a handsome shrub, which grows very straight, with numerous long branches. Its leaves are of dark green, with the upper side smooth and shining, and when it is covered with the white flowers or the bright red berries, which twice a year it bears in the greatest possible profusion, it is very beautiful. If allowed to grow it would reach a considerable height, but it has been found that by pruning it carefully and keeping it low, the plant grows much stronger and more healthily, and spends its strength on the fruit instead of the branches. The chief thing that is cultivated by the natives, for the coffee estates are chiefly in the hands of Europeans, is rice, which is to be found in every part of the island. As it requires a very great quantity of moisture, the fields are divided into compartments, each enclosed with a little embankment so as to prevent the escape of the water, which is supplied from the hills or the clouds, and the ground is then ploughed and trodden by oxen or buffaloes until it is reduced to a thin slime, into which the seed is scattered. As the rice grows up, the superfluous water is drained off, and the rest is absorbed by the plants, or the sun, so that by the time that the crop is fit for harvest the ground is quite dry. This supplies the natives with the most important part of their food; and they have abundance of cocoa nuts, bread fruit, jack fruit, yams, plantains, sweet potatoes, and other vegetables, with which they vary their curries. Fish too, which they have in great abundance, though not of a very fine quality, is a favourite food. Of flesh meat they eat but little.

Among the peculiar features of the island, we must not omit to notice some very curious salt lakes, or leeways as they are called. They are thirteen in number, and are

situated to the south-east part of the island, near a government station called Hambantote, on the sea coast. These leeways are large ponds or pools, some of them several miles in circumference, but seldom more than four or five feet deep in any part. This peculiarity is, that twice a-year the water turns blood red, and then gradually dries up, leaving a very thick coating of salt. Some of these leeways dry up a little before the others, and in some the salt is of a cleaner and finer quality than in others. In one or two indeed, it is collected in good-sized crystallized lumps, quite white and clear, so that the only thing that has to be done is to collect it, which must be hastened as much as possible lest it should be spoilt. The leeways are in the hands of government, who monopolize the sale of salt, and who keep a great many prisoners stationed at Hambantote, to work in collecting it.

As a great part of the island is but little inhabited, wild animals, as might be expected, abound. Lions or tigers are never met with now, we believe; but elephants, chetas, wild boars, wild buffaloes and jackals, as well as elk and deer of all descriptions, are to be found in great abundance. In some parts of the country bears and hyenas are occasionally met with. There is likewise a great abundance of game, hares, partridges, pea-fowl, wild duck, and wild goose, as well as large pigeons, plover, and snipe. Snakes too are very common, and alligators, besides numbers of minor reptiles, such as scorpions, centipedes, large and disgusting spiders, &c. Yet but little practical inconvenience is suffered by the residents there from the presence of these animals. Those who live in the towns very seldom see anything of them; they perchance will hear the cry of the jackals prowling about, and will at first be disturbed by what sounds like the voice of a human being in great pain or distress; but when they have once realized that it is not a human being, but a jackal, and that a jackal is a most harmless animal, they will not mind it. Snakes are a nuisance, because they make one nervous, since they are not confined, like some of the other animals, to the wild parts of the country, but there are some particular species which make themselves quite at home in private gardens and houses, and in this way occasionally, but very occasionally, accidents do happen; but it is chiefly among the natives, who believe in the transmigration of souls, and who think that if a snake is given to frequent their house, it is because

the soul of one of their relations has passed into the animal, and that this is the cause of his attachment to the place. And in this way it has sometimes happened that a poisonous snake has killed one or two of the family before they could be persuaded to turn their affectionate relative out of doors; whereas, in the case of Europeans, a snake is pursued immediately, if found in or near the house. Moreover, but very few of the snakes that one meets with are poisonous. Perhaps as many as nine out of ten belong to a common species called the rat snake, which is found every where, both in town and country, and which is constantly heard in any house that has a ceiling, chasing and destroying rats. But, except to these and such like vermin, the rat snake is perfectly harmless, though it is one of the largest kinds, growing sometimes to the length of six or seven feet, or even more. There is also a long thin snake of a bright green colour, very often seen, and generally hanging on a tree, but it is quite harmless. And there are numerous species of water snakes, but none of them we believe poisonous. The poisonous species, or, at least, the most common of them, are the cobra di capella, or hooded snake, a small snake called the carawalla, the tic polonga, and the green polonga, but the last of these is very seldom seen. It is a very small snake of light green colour, very beautiful, marked with large diamond-shaped black spots, and is very dangerous. None, however, of the poisonous kinds are so common as the cobra capella, which is a large snake, with a head that expands when the animal is excited, and the back of which is distinctly marked with the representation of a pair of spectacles, or rather nose glasses. Though, however, the bite of any of these is very dangerous, yet it is by no means the case that it is *always* fatal, even if no means are taken to prevent the poison from spreading. Experiments have been shown that even small animals, such as chickens or dogs, are not always killed by the bite, and it would naturally be expected that larger ones would be less affected. There is also a species of boa in Ceylon called the rock-snake, which grows to the length of thirty feet, and whose method of obtaining its livelihood is to hang on a tree until a deer, perhaps, or buffalo comes by, when the snake drops itself on him, and winding round him, crushes all his bones, and having thus softened him, swallows him at leisure. It is, however, seldom seen.

Among the wild animals, perhaps more mischief is done by the elephant than any other; and this not because he is at all more mischievously inclined than the rest; on the contrary, he is a peaceful animal, and entirely free from anything like a vicious or vindictive spirit. But the fact is, that being such enormous creatures, when a herd of them enters a sugar plantation, or a rice field, the damage they will do in a single night by satisfying their capacious appetites, and treading down what they leave, is something ruinous. However, they keep, for the most part, to their own native jungles, and only make very occasional incursions into parts that are much inhabited. The only time when an elephant is really a dangerous animal to meet with, is when he is alone; as this is never the case except when the animal has been driven away by the rest of the herd for some misconduct. He is then desperate and furious, and will attack any thing or any body, and almost all the accidents that one hears of with them, except those which are occasionally met with by adventurous sportsmen who begin the attack, are from this kind. When tamed, they are very useful for lifting and drawing great weights, and they may be seen continually about the public works, yoked one or more together in a gigantic cart. The kings of Kandy used to employ them as executioners. They were carefully trained to kneel or stamp on a culprit at a given word, to tear his limbs off and toss him into the air. And they were used also in processions and shows, as, indeed, they are still in the religious feasts and shows of the principal Boodhist temples. As, however, they never breed when domesticated, it is necessary to renew the stock every now and then by catching fresh ones. This is done by what is called an elephant kraal. Some large piece of country, much frequented by elephants, is beaten out by men, who drive them before them by shouting and making a noise with a sort of drum which they use, and with firebrands, which the elephant stands in great fear of. As they proceed, the beaters close in at the sides, so that the elephants are gradually driven into a large funnel-shaped barricade, made of gigantic stakes driven into the ground, and strengthened by being fastened together. This gradually narrows until it will only admit one of the animals at a time, when bars are run across behind them, and they find themselves fast shut in within a strong enclosure. When here, they are gradually reduced by starva-

tion, and are then bound and led out by tame elephants, who lash the refractory ones most unmercifully with their trunks. And in this way they are tamed and disciplined, and after a due course of training they are rendered fit for work.

Among the other wild animals, the wild boar is a very destructive animal, and also a very dangerous one to meet, as also is the wild buffalo, as they will attack without any provocation. Chetas, too, which are pretty commonly found in any place covered with jungle, will carry off children and dogs; but as they are cowardly animals, they will not often attack men. Perhaps accidents as frequently happen from alligators as any other wild animal, as they are very numerous in some places, and there are not many rivers quite free from them. Yet it would surprise a person newly arrived in the country, to see the natives bathing and swimming about, and wading up to their necks in the water in places known to be infested by alligators. The reason, however, of this is, that the habits of the animal do not lead it to carry off people in this way. Whether it is considered as a point of etiquette not to take any unfair advantage of a man, or whether to promote confidence between man and alligator, but so it is, that the animal prefers generally to go a longer way to work. The most common thing is for a canoe, with one or two men in it, to be upset by the beast swimming up behind and putting his fore-leg on it, and then seizing his prey in the water, and carrying it down to the bottom to be devoured at leisure. They are sometimes seen lying in wait, like a great log of wood on the bank, for whatever may chance to come by, but they seldom venture far from the water. They breed by eggs about the size of a goose egg, and from this they grow to the length of twenty-six and even thirty feet. The most common way of destroying them is by shooting them, but they can seldom be got at without catching them first, which is done by tying a large hook, with a rope attached to it, on to a dog, and leaving the latter to bewail his miserable lot on a little raft, or on the shore, and the alligator seldom fails to attend to his cries. And when he has thoroughly gorged the bait, he is drawn sufficiently out to be shot.

In passing from an account of the wild animals to that of the rational ones, we must not omit to notice a sort of intermediate link that there is in Ceylon in the shape of

wild men, or, as they are commonly called, Veddahs. This race of beings, which may be described as undomesticated men, is growing very scarce, so that they are now very rarely seen, and one has no opportunity of making the investigation concerning them that would be so interesting. From what has been learnt, however, concerning them, it seems that they wear but little or no clothes, that they are without any houses or shelter of any kind, but live with their families and all in the trees. Their food is roots, berries, and wild fruit, besides venison and wild fowl, which they are very expert in killing with bows and arrows. No traces of any thing like a religion has been found among them; and the language which they have among themselves, is one not understood by the people. Knox tell us in his book, that whenever they wanted their arrows sharpened, or anything of that sort done, they would leave it by night at the door of some blacksmith, and if he did what was wanted, and left it in the same place, they would repay him in a day or two by some venison, but if he neglected to attend to them, they would be sure to take their revenge. They seemed to be a very harmless sort of people, keeping quite to themselves in the thickest of the jungle. But, if attacked, they were a dangerous foe.

We come next to speak of the population of Ceylon. This amounted, in 1833, to 1,126,808 souls; but it is probable that, owing to the great progress of commerce in the island since that time, and the great number of labourers who have come over from the continent of India in consequence, it is now very much greater. This number is made up of different nations. Besides the Singhalese and the Kandians, who may be considered as the natives, there are Portuguese, Dutch, Malabars, and a class which goes by the name of Moormen. The numbers of English, exclusive of the military, amounted, in 1833, to but 125, men, women, and children, but there are now many thousands. Besides these there are also a few Malays, Hindoos, Chinese, Caffres, and others whom chance and commerce has brought to the island. We will begin with a few words on the Singhalese. This word, according to the accounts of the natives themselves, is derived from two native words, *Singha*, lion, and *la*, blood; yet it must be confessed that they have the least possible claim to be called lion-blooded men now, whatever they may have been in former times. In

point of size, they are diminutive ; in physical and muscular strength, they are remarkably weak, nor do they make up the deficiency by personal courage ; on the contrary, they are timid and cowardly. The Kandians, or Highland Singhalese, who are said to be a distinct race, are certainly very superior to the rest in these respects, yet even they fall far behind the European standard. Altogether, courage and the active virtues are plainly not their line, but rather what is so hard to those in higher latitudes, great powers of endurance. The climate itself, which is very enervating and relaxing, tends to make them what they are—indolent, inactive, and without energy. The only thing which seems to have power to rouse them at all, is their excessive spirit of curiosity. A Singhalese, whose greatest felicity is to lie on his back all day and chew betel, will yet go a long journey to see something which he is inquisitive about. As they can live on next to nothing, he will take a small bag of rice with him, and saunter along the whole day at an easy pace, and at night will find some place of shelter, where he and his fellow travellers will boil their rice, and find a piece of old mat to sleep on till break of day, when they will pursue their journey. And this is perhaps in order to stand staring, for a whole day or more, at something or another which one would think had nothing particularly interesting in it. The same thing is shown in their conversation. They are full of curiosity to hear everything, and the questions they ask are very intelligent. They are very quick of apprehension, ingenious and clever at contriving or devising anything, and so would easily make great progress in anything they undertook, did not their indolent disposition interfere. But they are so fickle and inconstant, that it is very difficult to keep them steady at one thing. Their moral character, too, is not very good. They have no regard to truth, and are great thieves ; yet if a thing is entrusted to their care it is pretty safe, as their way is rather to make free with things secretly, and when it would be supposed that they had nothing to do with them. Gratitude, chastity, and humility, are virtues for which they seem to have neither the words nor the ideas ; yet this does not leave their character so bad as at first sight it might be thought to do. Humility, indeed, being altogether a Christian virtue, were not to be expected from heathens ; and they are not, generally speaking, very proud or vain ; at least, we do not think that their pride can be

very deep rooted, or they would not be so docile and tractable as they certainly are. The only thing is, that a man having a low opinion of himself, or humbling himself to do what is beneath his rank, could not be conceived by the Singhalese to proceed from anything but a mean and low spirit. Gratitude they certainly are wanting in. A Singhalese will seldom think of thanking a person who bestows any favour on him, nor, indeed, is there any word in his language to do so, but they are obliged to make use of a Portuguese word. Yet this does not by any means imply the hardheartedness and want of feeling which it would with ourselves, but it is a good deal to be attributed to the state of feeling prevalent among them, which leads them to think it a part of greatness to confer favours, and that the kindness done is in accepting them; nor is there, at the present day, anything which will so wound and offend a Singhalese, as to refuse his present. Moreover, they are an exceedingly kindhearted people. And one continually meets with instances of their taking care of friends and relatives who have no sort of claim on them, quite as a matter of course, without expecting or receiving any thanks. And they are in general very charitable and hospitable.

The absence of almost any notions about, or esteem for, the virtue of chastity, cannot be so easily got over. Indeed, this is, we suppose, their great national failing, and that which, in making them Catholics, is the greatest difficulty to be conquered. Yet even in this there is nothing of the disgusting depravity which accompanies these excesses where people acknowledge the virtue, and yet wilfully neglect it. In Ceylon (we speak merely of the heathen population) the case is simply this, that chastity is not a virtue; so that, whenever it is inconvenient, it is not observed. And of course it is a very difficult thing to introduce a new state of feeling on the matter. It is a most common thing, if a couple disagree, for them to separate, and find fresh partners. Or, a man marries, perhaps, and finds, after a time, that it would be for his advantage to remove to another place; it does not by any means follow, as a matter of course, that his wife goes with him. If she prefers the society of her friends and neighbours to that of her husband, she stays behind, and he sets up house anew in the place where he is gone to. And we have known, when it has been objected by a missionary to such

a man, that he ought not to have taken another wife since the first was still alive, of his answering with the greatest simplicity, "What *was* I to do, I had nobody to cook my rice?"

We, however, who might have been expected to improve the natives in these respects, have taught them to know better, and to do worse. The English, so far from being respected by the natives as more virtuous than themselves, are quite looked down upon. Nor can this be wondered at, as we have talked about virtue, and told them that this and that was wrong; while our own people have been worse than themselves, committing all sorts of excesses, not with the simplicity of one who knows no better, but with a viciousness and beastliness quite revolting. An English soldier is regarded by all respectable natives with a sort of abhorrence and disgust. Smoking, and swearing, and hard drinking, which before were not common, have been introduced by us; indeed, drunkenness is now becoming very common. One virtue the natives of Ceylon possess in their natural state, which is not commonly found prevailing to the same extent; namely, temperance and general moderation. With them, the man who has fewest wants, and can do with least, is most respected. They eat and drink but little, and can go long without food. And they are disposed to be frugal and prudent; so that, taking into consideration what a very small sum is sufficient for all a man's necessary wants there, it will have been anticipated that there is very little, if any real poverty. One curious quality which prevails at present among the Singhalese, is their excessive litigiousness. It probably arises from their never having been accustomed to be treated with so much attention and respect as to have their grievances and injuries taken notice of; but however that may be, they look upon it now as a sort of exploit or adventure to have gone to law with a man. They will not unfrequently completely ruin themselves in carrying on some expensive law-suit about some little patch of ground that is not worth many shillings; and even if they lose their cause at last, yet still they look upon themselves as having done something noble and heroic. But the Police Courts recently established, which deal very summarily with petty cases, will no doubt have the effect of lessening in time this propensity of theirs to go to law.

The Singhalese are mostly employed in agriculture. They have small farms or country houses throughout the inhabited parts of the country, and live on the produce of their land. Many, too, are engaged in commerce, keeping little shops in the towns and villages, and the different trades are a good deal supplied by them; but it is becoming more and more uncommon for them to work as hired labourers, as they are getting too well off for this, and the Malabar Coolies, from the continent of India, have for some time past supplied the great demand for labour. These come over in companies of some hundreds together, and work on the roads and coffee estates for six months or so together, and then return quite enriched, as the wages in Ceylon are eight or ten times as great as they are in their own country. They lose great numbers by dysentery, as when the disease attacks them, they will take no medicine for it, but quietly lie down to die. Their companions leave them by the side of the road with a little rice, and pass on without taking any farther notice of them; and as they have very little physical strength, owing to their bad and insufficient food, and clothing too scanty for the colder climate of Ceylon, they soon break down under the disease, and may be seen on some of the roads in all stages of death and corruption. The northern parts of the island are almost entirely inhabited by the Malabars, whose language, appearance, manners, and feelings, are very different from those of the Singhalese.

Of the class which goes by the name of Moormen, there is not much to be said. They are for the most part a very fine athletic race of men, about the same colour as the Singhalese, that is to say, a dark copper-colour, but of much more strength of body and energy of character. They are chiefly employed in commerce, and by far the greatest part of the petty traffic of the island is in their hands; and as they are in a very flourishing condition, their wealth and importance are increasing. In religion they are Mahometans, and in all the principal towns, as well as in some villages almost exclusively occupied by them, they have their Mosques, and keep up their chief festivals with great pomp and show. They are people of a good deal of general morality, honesty, and decorum, and do not often let themselves down by any openly irregular conduct. But they seem very inferior to the noble and generous characters which are found among the real

Turks, while they share with them in an extreme jealousy of any one of their faith becoming a Christian, so that he would be morally certain of being murdered, were he to do so. Where these Moormen came from, or when they first settled in the island, is still, we believe, undiscovered.

The Portuguese arrived in Ceylon in 1505. At that time the island was inhabited by the Veddahs and civilized inhabitants. With the former they would have little to do; but they made an agreement with the natives to defend them from the Arabs, who used from time to time to make a descent on the island, and for this an annual tribute of so many hundred weight of cinnamon was agreed to be paid by the native king, until, partly by fraud and partly by force, they succeeded in making themselves masters of all the maritime parts of the island, while the king of Kandy continued to keep possession of the mountainous parts in the interior. From this time we have a regular and authentic history of the island, which may be seen in Knox's History; whereas before, though it would appear that there is no lack of materials out of which a regular history might be constructed, yet but little has yet been effected in this way from want of persons having the time and inclination to study the subject.\* One thing, however, is clearly proved; viz., that Ceylon was formerly a very powerful kingdom; or, to speak more correctly, a number of kingdoms like the Saxon Heptarchy in our own country. Not only does history give an account of the different states, and of the events connected with them, but the modern traveller in Ceylon is surprised at coming upon colossal ruins of temples and fortifications in the most wild and uninhabited parts of the country, which are now occupied by few besides wild beasts. There is some difficulty in exploring these ruins, as like all other depopulated places, they are very much infested with malaria, and but few escape without catching fever. One of the most extensive of these ruined towns is placed in the interior, called Anuradjapoor, where there are still some few inhabitants and a European magistrate. The remains

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\* Mr. Knighton's History has been the last attempt at anything of the kind: but the person who has done most is the Hon. Mr. Turnour, who translated some years ago a very valuable work, called the Mahawanse, from the Pali. In his book there is contained an epitome of the History of Ceylon.

of the temples here are very fine, and show that this must have been as considerable a place in old times as it is represented to have been in history. In another place, there is a high rock, very strongly fortified, and in many parts of the country there are large dams built and lakes formed, and the hill sides terraced, so as to be fit for retaining the water necessary to make it suitable for growing rice. Major Forbes's book contains some very interesting accounts of some of these places which he visited and explored; but our limits do not allow us to do more than refer the reader to the work itself. Besides these indications of a very large population in parts which are now quite deserted, it is made out pretty clearly, that the sea has encroached very much on the island, and that there were formerly very large and flourishing cities at places now a considerable depth under water. All this, however, had passed away when the Portuguese arrived at the island, and the first place that they made themselves masters of was the town of Colombo, now the capital of the island, situated on the south-east shore. They do not seem to have been at all good masters, but, like other nations, to have thought more of enriching themselves than of doing any benefit to the conquered people. We will give an account of their doings from the Catholic Intelligencer:

"The Portuguese were the first Europeans who discovered this island. They landed there in the year 1505, and established a permanent and flourishing colony in 1536. Unfortunately the thirst for wealth and the lust of power, did not allow them to think much of the conversion of the natives. The beauty of the island, its climate, its mines of gold, its luxuries of every kind, had so enervated their character and demoralized their nature, that instead of raising the natives to the dignity of civilized beings and of christians, they themselves became degraded beneath the Indians of the forest. The name and the blessings of Christianity became obscurely known to the inhabitants of the island, by the occasional visits of one or two missionaries from Goa, and by the example and instruction of a few Portuguese merchants, who were not carried away in the general torrent of depravity. When the fame of the preaching and miracles of St. Francis Xavier on the coast of Coromandel had reached them, they sent ambassadors to that great apostle of the Indies, to solicit him to visit their island. To their honour it must be recorded, that they were the first of the Eastern nations whose thirst for the knowledge of Christianity was so great, that they sent a deputation to solicit instructors to come amongst

them. The saint was so employed in establishing Christianity at Travancore that he could not personally attend to their request. He sent one of his priests, whose labours at Manaar were so successful, that in a short time the Manaroys, and the inhabitants of the neighbouring coasts, not only became Christians, but died generously for the faith. The cruel king of Jaffnapatam, on hearing that his subjects were abandoning their religion and embracing that of the white men (Portuguese), ordered them to be put to death; and in the course of that year about six or seven hundred of his subjects perished, amongst whom was his own eldest son. St. Francis Xavier himself visited the island two years after, where his preaching, his prayers, his fasts and his miracles, were followed by the same glorious effects which marked his course through the East. The number of Christians increased rapidly. The temples of Paganism were demolished, its idols destroyed, and churches of the true God erected all over the island. The labours of the saint were seconded by the zeal and virtues of the pious John III. of Portugal. In consequence of the representation of Xavier, he appointed upright and religious governors of his Indian possessions; persons who would feel more anxiety for the acquisition of souls to the field of Christ, than for the accumulation of wealth in their coffers. By these means Christianity was so universally established in Ceylon, that when the Dutch took possession of the island in 1650, the rites and ceremonies of pagan worship were little known."—pp. 12, 13.

While, however, it was owing to the occupation of the island by the Portuguese that Christianity was introduced, or at least revived—for we have no means of ascertaining with any accuracy whether St. Thomas or his disciples ever visited the island when they preached on the opposite coast, though there were Christian churches discovered in the island in the sixth century—yet the Portuguese, as a body, did not govern so as to gain the affections of the natives, but, on the contrary, oppressed them so heavily, that when the Dutch made their appearance in 1632, the natives were induced to assist in admitting them. It was some time before the Dutch succeeded in making themselves masters of the Portuguese possessions; but they effected this at last, and in 1656 Colombo surrendered to them. Then the natives found out to their cost that they had gained nothing by the change of masters, and in respect of religion, the effect was most grievous. We will continue the narrative of the Colonial Intelligencer:

"It is a singular fact, connected with the introduction of the principles of the reformation in Ceylon, for be it remembered the Dutch were then protestants, that they enabled the then king of Candy,

Isimalardarmé, son and successor of Raja Singhe, to send ambassadors to procure Boodhoo priests from the continent to re-establish the absurd and idolatrous worship of that god.\* In p. 308 of Dr. Davies' interesting travels in Ceylon, he says, 'the religion of Boodhoo was at an extremely low ebb; its doctrines were forgotten, its ceremonies were in disuse, and its temples were without ministers. With the assistance of the Dutch, the king sent an embassy to Siam, and procured twelve Oupasampade priests, who came to Kandy, and instructed and ordained forty natives of the Oupasampade order, and very many of the Sampadoe.' This is confirmed by Captain Robert Knox, in his *History of the State of Religion in Ceylon*, published one hundred and fifty years ago. We shall now see if the religion of St. Thomas and Xavier received similar protection and assistance from these Christian conquerors. The Portuguese were not only deprived of their power and possessions, but their religion was proscribed, their public worship was interrupted, their churches violated and destroyed, their priests banished, or, if seized, punished by imprisonment, tortures, and death. Catholics were rendered incapable of holding any place of trust or enjoying any privileges. Their marriages were pronounced illegal, the administration of Sacraments strictly forbidden. In a word, persecution and a sanguinary code of penal laws oppressed the Catholics of Ceylon for more than one hundred and forty-five years. With such vigour was the persecution carried on and these laws enforced, that only thirty-seven years after the arrival of the Dutch, when the holy

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\* It is instructive to remark, how almost instinctively the 'apostolic' Church of England has throughout made common cause, not with the 'Roman branch of the Catholic Church' which first Christianized the island, but with the Presbyterian Dutch, whose Churches they still use in common with them. Of course, according to the theory of National Churches, it was the duty of the Catholic population of the island, when the latter was taken by the English, to become at once zealous Anglicans, and express the greatest abhorrence for the damnable errors of popery. Yet, even according to that theory, it was not their duty to become Presbyterians like the Dutch, because they are not a 'branch Church;' and so we do not see the force of the present High-church Bishop of Colombo's remarks, when, in a letter to the Society for Propagating the Gospel, about two years ago, he speaks of feeling ashamed for his country, when he saw in different places the churches built by the Dutch, and compared what they had done for Christianity, and what had been done by the English. What the Dutch *did* do for Christianity may be seen by the extract we have quoted. As for the churches, they were either taken from the Catholics or built by force labour, so that they cost very little, and even so they are not above one-fiftieth of the number possessed by the Catholics.

missionary Padre Joseph Vaz, of the order of St. Philip Neri, arrived on the island, the Catholics dared not assemble in public for religious purposes. He was obliged to pass from one family to another disguised in the dress of a slave, and to offer up the holy sacrifice of the mass in private chambers. He was a messenger of peace and consolation to all the afflicted Catholics of the island. However cautiously and privately they assembled to receive his instructions, they were exposed to the danger of discovery and consequent punishment.

"Once on the Christmas Eve, when they were assembled in three houses where altars were prepared, upon each of which the holy missionary was expected to celebrate mass, whilst they were singing the Litanies and performing other acts of devotion, instead of Matins before Mass, the Dutch soldiers entered and unexpectedly assaulted them. They beat both men and women, demolished the altars, behaved in the most disrespectful manner to the sacred images, and took upwards of three hundred persons prisoners. On the following day the prisoners were brought before the Dutch judge, Van Rheede; he ordered the women to be released and imposed pecuniary fines on the men, with the exception of eight who were persons of great property and consideration. These he ordered to be cruelly whipped; one of them named Peter, who had been lately converted from Lutheranism by Father Joseph, to be put to death in the most inhuman manner. The remaining seven were condemned to serve during the rest of their lives in irons and hard labour.

"Notwithstanding the vigilance and activity with which the Catholics were pursued by their inexorable persecutors, their numbers began to increase; so that when the English took possession of the island in 1795, there were still many priests who attended their flocks in secret. Though they then changed masters the same laws continued, but enforced with a much milder spirit. The Catholics however still continued an unprotected and degraded class. But the dawn of their deliverance approached—the day that was to see them restored to freedom, and to their rights and privileges as British subjects, was at hand. Providence and the wisdom of the English Government, sent Sir Alexander Johnston as chief justice and first member of his majesty's council on that island. From the day of his arrival, his time and his thoughts were occupied to discover the customs, the dispositions, and the wants of its inhabitants. He declared himself ready to receive from all persons acquainted with the laws and habits of the people, suggestions that might tend to improve their condition, to promote peace, and contribute to advance the trade, comfort, and civilization of the island. The consequence was, that upon his strong and personal representations to his majesty's government during his visit to England, he carried back the glorious blessings of trial by jury to all the inhabitants of Ceylon, and a confirmation of the privileges which he obtained for the Catholics in 1806."—p. 13, 14.

In answer to a letter of thanks addressed to him by the archbishop of Goa, Sir Alexander states, that he was induced to consider the condition of Catholics in the island, from a peculiar case that came before him, and that he then found that a great many most oppressive regulations made against them by the Dutch, still continued in force, which he endeavoured, and that successfully, to get repealed. He also mentions, that in a circuit he had lately made through the island, he observed that there was not a single Catholic brought for trial, and yet their numbers at that time were very considerable.

The Dutch and Portuguese still form a part of the motley population of Ceylon, but their numbers are not very great, and they are scarcely found except in the towns. There they find occupation in the public offices as clerks and petty officers. Most of the respectable shops are kept by them: the lower sort exercise various trades, while some few have preserved themselves in better rank and circumstances, as merchants and civil servants. For they have intermingled so much together, as well as with the Singalese on one side and the English on the other, that they are to be found in all ranks and grades of society, from the highest to the very lowest. Many illegitimate children of English fathers by native women, have found their level among them. The most respectable part of them go by the name of Burghers. In character, however, they are not a pleasing set of people. They are very fond of dress and show, and commonly live beyond what they can afford, in order to make an appearance. As the natural accompaniment of this, they are, as might be expected, very vain and conceited, and give themselves great airs, so that they are not very easy people to deal with. As being better educated, they have more just ideas of what is right and good, and pay some attention towards keeping up their respectability, but they do not seem especially remarkable for any good quality, and the lower classes of them, consisting chiefly of Portuguese, are very low and disreputable.

In point of religion they are, as might be expected, divided. Those who are directly descended from the Dutch, or who are connected, or wish to be thought connected with the English, are protestants. The Dutch have, indeed, the remains of a Presbyterian establishment, supported by the English government; but as it is more fashionable or more exciting to attend some of the numer-

ous protestant places of worship, the Dutch congregations are beginning to fall off, and perhaps will not exist much longer. At present they have a few large churches in the most important stations, which are generally used at a different hour for the Anglican service. And there are a few Dutch Proponents, as they are called, who read some prayers to the few who still adhere to their old form of religion. Formerly the Dutch were very zealous in the work of proselytizing. While they destroyed or took possession of the Catholic churches, and proscribed any exercise of their religion, they endeavoured to bring the people round to themselves, by making it an honourable and lucrative thing to be a protestant. No one could hold the meanest office under government, such as that of even being headman in his native village, unless he had been baptized; and as the poor natives had no conscientious scruples against what they looked upon as so harmless a ceremony, which put them in the way of so much preferment with so little trouble, they at length became willing, and even anxious, to be baptized. To such an extent was this system carried on, that the Anglican Clergy have had some difficulty in putting a stop to the Proponents, or Catechists, from baptizing numbers of people who had neither any knowledge of their new religion, nor of their duties as members of it, nor the most distant intention of performing them. Some fifteen years back one had to be suspended or dismissed from his office by the archdeacon of the island, for persisting in baptizing all the children of a native village at three pence a head, though he had been expressly prohibited from doing so. And this notion of its being honourable to be a Christian has taken such hold of the people, that, except in the central parts of the island, which were never held by the Dutch, but few would profess themselves Boodhists. Not an uncommon answer for a man to make when he is asked what religion he is of, is, 'I am a Christian, but I go to the temple,' viz., of Boodhoo.

As for the Portuguese, the great bulk of them have remained firm in adherence to the Catholic faith, though there are some who have been attracted by the hope of better situations, or by the wish to be like the English, to become Protestants; and then they generally attached themselves to some one of the numerous Dissenting Missionary bodies which have established themselves in Ceylon.

We have now given some account of the inhabitants of Ceylon, of the character of the place, and a sketch of its more recent history. We have seen what great conflicts the poor Catholics have had to go through in persecutions, from their own rulers as well as from the Dutch Government, and how courageously they have stood through it all; so that after 150 years of unceasing persecution, in which they were left almost without priests to administer the Sacraments to them, and to instruct them, there was yet a very considerable number, some 60,000 or 70,000, left. We come next to consider the present state of religion in the island, and its future prospects, and what are the chief obstacles to its entire conversion. And here it is obvious to take some account of the heathen religion of Boodhism, which still prevails there very extensively, since it must be by the overthrow of this, that the true religion is to gain ground. The Catholic Intelligencer gives the following account of it.

“The system of religion practised in the island before the introduction of Christianity, and still followed unfortunately by great numbers, is that of Boodhoo. They do not believe in the existence of a Supreme Being, self-existent and eternal, the Creator and preserver of the Universe. They believe that a man may become a god or a demon, or that a god may become a man or an animalcule; that ordinary death is merely a change of form, and that these changes are almost infinite. They have all over the island built temples and dedicated them to the worship of this god (Boodhoo) who they say came from the fourth of the innumerable heavens, and lived two hundred years before the Christian era. After his death he ascended to the brightest heaven, and they expect another Boodhoo to come for their salvation. The majority of the natives are of this religion at present.”—p. 11.

Considering that nearly one-third of the earth's inhabitants are estimated to be professors of the Boodhist religion, it seems not a little curious that so little is known on the subject. Perhaps, now that Europeans have obtained entrance into the Chinese Empire, which is the great stronghold of this religion, something more may be discovered; but at present such a vast field of enquiry opens itself when entering on the subject, as almost to frighten one from making the attempt. In Ceylon there seems to be no want of MSS., containing very valuable information on this subject. And as the temples and colleges where they have been preserved seem more ready to part with them than

they were, it is hoped that some of them may fall into the hands of those who will make good use of them. The sacred books, however, are not written in Singhalese, as might have been expected, but in Sanscrit or Pali, which the Boodhist priests are more or less acquainted with. Indeed, it is from these languages that the Singhalese is in great measure derived. They seem, however, to be chiefly taken up with the endless mazes of fables and genealogies, relating to the different Boodhoos, with all their doings and adventures. And it must be the work of a long time, and of a most patient investigation, to make out the real meaning and intent of them. Whether there were nine Boodhoos or one, whether Boodhoo was a God or a man, and whether Boodhism recognizes any supreme being, are points about which one hears the most contradictory statements. So that we cannot pretend to do more than make a few remarks on what seems to be the real state of belief on the matter.

It seems then to be quite true that the Boodhist religion does not acknowledge the existence of a Supreme Being in the same sense that we do. The common belief of the people, indeed, does not follow their religion. They *do* believe in the existence of an overruling Deity, but should any one of them become a Boodhist priest, he would be obliged to give up such an heretical doctrine. The Boodhist religion however acknowledges what may be called a negative diivne power, which they denominate Fate, and which is supposed absolutely to predestinate every thing, so that all things which come to pass are decreed irrevocably beforehand. Even the people at large who do believe in a Supreme Being, will yet speak of things as being fated, and therefore unavoidably coming to pass. One might have thought it inconsistent with this that they should attribute any thing like merit to what they do; yet as a matter of fact, no idea seems more deeply rooted in their mind than that of meriting by good deeds. One will hardly pass through a village without seeing a rest-house for travellers, or a large vessel full of water for them to drink from, or some such work of charity, built or set up as a work of merit. And they believe that, according to the amount of merit which they possess, will be their condition after death. It has been thought by some, that they estimated their stock of merit by their good works, without thinking that it is diminished by vice and bad works; but we are inclined to

believe that they would not attribute much merit to a man who was really guilty of immorality or injustice, only that they have different notions of right or wrong on some subjects from what we have. As to fate, they have in general the good sense not to let their doctrine of *faith* interfere with that of free will, so as either to take away the merit of good deeds or the guilt of bad ones. Perhaps, however, they are not so much accustomed to dwell on the influence of fate over the every day actions of their life, as over the more important revolutions of empires and worlds.

The idea entertained by some, that Boodhoo is the god of the Singhalese, requires then considerable modification; as, in our sense of the word, their religion does not recognize any. Rather Boodhoo is to be considered as an extraordinary man, who, by his heroic virtue and the great benefits he bestowed on mankind, raised himself to the character of a demigod or hero, and it is as such we conceive, and not as a deity, that he is worshipped. There seem indeed to have been several Boodhoos, and three or four are yet to be expected according to that religion, but it is universally agreed, that one of these named Gautama Boodhoo was so much the most eminent and distinguished, that it is common to speak of Boodhoo as if the appellation only applied to him. This Gautama seems to have lived in the eleventh century before Christ, and to have died in the tenth, but the Singhalese annals assign the year 543 B. C. as that of his death. It certainly seems to have been about this time that the religion was brought into the island from the continent of India, but whether Brahminism was derived from Boodhism, or vice versa, is still a disputed point, though it seems to be more commonly supposed that Boodhism is the most recent. And from what we have been able to learn, this seems to have the greatest truth in it. In Ceylon at least it is observed, that Boodhism acknowledges Brahminism, having very commonly images of Vishnu in its temples, to which the people make offerings as well as to Boodhoo, whereas it does not appear that the Brahmin temples or worshippers in any way recognize Boodhoo; which is just what one might expect, if, as is said to be the case, Boodhism is an offshoot of Brahminism, which at length was broken off from it. It is not however our intention to enter upon so wide and deep a subject, and about which so little has as yet been discovered. Our object being rather to speak of the religion as it is found practically to exist in Ceylon in the present day.

One of the most curious parts of a Boodhist's belief, is that which concerns the next life. Though it is common to hear the Singhalese speak of 'the good place,' and 'the bad place,' in the next world, yet they have not by any means the Christian ideas of these places. They seem to think of them rather as states of being than as places. Thus they believe, as we have hinted above, that the souls of men will all pass through different stages of existence, and that, according to their merit or demerit, they will transmigrate into higher or lower conditions. The animals around them are, they believe, inhabited by transmigrated spirits. And this may probably be the cause why the precepts of Boodhoo absolutely forbid them to take the life of any animal, so that even to this day they live almost entirely on vegetable food; nor again, can anything persuade them to destroy many animals, such as dogs and cats, whom they do not scruple to neglect or misuse, till their life must be a painful and miserable one to themselves. And while some souls are supposed to enter animals, others again are thought to pass into higher and more noble states of existence. And thus they are thought to pass from one state of being to another, until by their increased merit they attain after a long succession of ages to their highest state of felicity, or Nirwana. This word is commonly taken, from its derivation, signifying to go, or be blown out, to mean extinction; and it is accordingly stated, that Boodhism teaches men to look forward ultimately to annihilation as the greatest good. And, indeed, our minds are so accustomed to anticipate weariness with anything that has very long duration, and are so utterly unable to grasp anything that is infinite, even when it concerns our own existence, that we cannot dwell upon the thought of eternal existence without shrinking from something so overwhelming. So that it cannot be wondered at, that any who were not divinely instructed should consider a very long existence but one which *has* an end preferable to one that has none. However, it does not seem necessary to explain Nirwana by annihilation, though it is the most common opinion that such is the meaning of it. Others say that it will mean merely a state of calm and undisturbed quiescence. And others state the doctrine of the Boodhists to be that the soul will then lose all personal and individual existence, and be absorbed again into the Supreme Spirit from which it emanated. And this would really seem to be the most true ac-

count of the matter, were it not for the difficulty of there being no Supreme Being, according to their account, to be absorbed into. One cannot conceive souls being absorbed into Fate.

It may be, however, that what the Boodhists mean by fate, is not merely a negative power, but an all-pervading soul of the Universe, without however having an active personal existence, at least as far as men are concerned. And such an idea is much more consistent with the Pantheistic character of Boodhism than the other, while at the same time it admits of the common belief, that the greatest ultimate good is losing all personal existence, and being absorbed into the divine essence.

Some of the doctrines of Boodhism have, as might be expected, taken very deep hold of the native mind; the religion as a living practical system seems to have little or none. The people are not instructed by the priests, but learn the little they know about their religion, from what they accidentally hear about it at home or elsewhere. This might, it is true, be sufficient, if there were any constant personal duties bringing them into immediate contact with their priests and temples. But there is very little of the kind. The priests go about occasionally, and read the Banna books, as they are called, containing moral precepts of Boodhoo and a little (though but a little) on his doctrines. But these meetings are neither frequent or well attended, neither priest nor people seeming to care much about them. The more pious Boodhists will occasionally carry offerings of sweet-scented flowers to the temples, which they are permitted to arrange on an altar or table immediately before the image, while they also bring something more substantial and satisfying to the priest, such as presents of rice, vegetables or money. And in return the offerer receives the priest's blessing, who stands opposite him with his face pretty close to the other's, and holding up a large fan at the side, as if to conceal what he was doing, he makes signs and whispers a blessing. On certain days, too, there are festivals celebrated with more or less splendour according to the wealth and circumstances of the place, and these are sometimes pretty well attended, but apparently more as a sight than from any great devotion.

What has a great deal more extensive practical influence over the people, is the practice of devil worship. This

is not part of Boodhism, but on the contrary, is opposed to and by it; and as it has the effect of drawing away the people from their religion, the priests do all they can to discourage it, but without effect. The poor natives say that their country is full of devils, and while they least suspect their presence where they really are, they attribute all illness, bad seasons, and misfortunes of every kind to their influence. They even believe that they wander about at night, and will tell you they hear their cries. Accordingly wherever the mischief is not irretrievable, they endeavour by every means to propitiate the evil spirit, whose anger they think they have excited. Pacifying devils is not an honourable profession, but a lucrative art. A man becomes eminent as a devil curer, in the same way that he would as a physician, by skill, experience, and success. And so if a man falls dangerously ill, his relations, if they can afford it, send for a devil doctor, whose business is first to discover the exact species of imp which is doing the mischief, and then to apply such remedies as will sooth, not his patient, but his impatient, friend. Sometimes this must be done by fitting out a little raft, and decking it with flags and flowers, and then setting it afloat on the nearest river or pond. Sometimes the devil will be satisfied with nothing less than having his likeness taken, which is generally done on a frame smeared over with fine clay, and then painted with a most hideous representation of a fiend, with a great number of arms, and with goggle eyes and great tusks. And then the devil doctor procures dancers, to come and dance before the image for a whole night or so, to the sound of tom-toms (a kind of drum) and pipes. And when they have sown their fields, they will generally deck out some little tuft in the middle with flowers and young cocoa-nut leaves, as a sop to the devils who are inclined to molest them. And with the same purpose they use charms and wear amulets. This superstition of devil worship has grown so deeply into their minds, that even the Boodhist priests themselves, when they are in any great danger or illness, forget the opposition which it is their duty and interest to make to the devil worship, and send for a charmer themselves.

Besides this superstition, there is in the island another object of religious veneration, which likewise seems quite independent of Boodhism. In the little island of Ramisseram, adjoining the island of Ceylon in the point where it

approaches nearest to the continent of India, there is a large temple in which is kept a little idol not many inches high, called the Ramisseram god. This idol is curiously enough an object of universal veneration, not only with the native heathens of Ceylon, but with those of all India, who make pilgrimages of hundreds and thousands of miles to adore it. The temple is, in consequence, very rich with the offerings of the pilgrims, and is kept up at a greater expense, and with more magnificence, than any other that we know of in Ceylon. Several elephants, and those, too, very fine ones, are kept by the temple for religious processions, and for taking out this little idol an airing occasionally. But some of the ceremonies attending the religious devotion paid to it, are very disgusting. The priests of this temple are employed, among other things, in keeping up a sacred fire, which must give them some trouble, as it is so large as to occupy an area of several yards square. This fire has, it is said, been kept day and night for four hundred years, and, indeed, as far as can be ascertained, it has been going on for a very long time.

As for the Boodhist priests, they are, it must be allowed, in character a very harmless and inoffensive set of people. And there is a great deal about them that is very striking. They are, for the most part, brought up to be priests from their very childhood, when they are taught to read, and instructed out of their books, which are not written in the common language that is spoken, but either in high Singhalese or Pali. In former times many of the priests were very learned men, who had thought and read a great deal, but at present but few such remain. The priests live in colleges in a good deal of seclusion. They are forbidden, by their rule of life, ever to go to courts of law or places of public resort, and though this is not strictly attended to now, yet they preserve a great deal of decorum and self-respect when they go out. They are always attended by one or two persons, who carry their umbrella or any thing else they may have with them. Their manner is reserved and dignified, without anything of levity or unseemliness. They never salute any one, not even the king when there was one; and they have all the privileges of natives of the highest rank. They are obliged to remain celibates, and to observe strict chastity while they are priests, nor does one hear any tales to their discredit with regard to these conditions. They are permitted, however,

if they please, to throw off their robes and to return to the world whenever they like ; but this does not appear to be often done, nor can they resume them again afterwards. Their dress and appearance is something quite different from that of the other natives. Their hair and beards are smooth shaven, nor do they wear any thing on their heads. Their dress is of yellow cotton, generally of a very bright colour, which is never used by the rest of the natives, but dyed on purpose for them ; and they roll a long piece of this several times round their waist, letting it reach to their ancles, whilst another piece of the same cloth is thrown over one shoulder and under the other, something after the fashion of a Scotch plaid. They sometimes, but not often, wear sandals, but they have no ornament of any sort about them. They have three orders of priests, and the ceremonies used when they are ordained are very curious. Each candidate has his 'Si quis' read before he can be admitted. This is done by taking him through the chief streets of the town on the back of an elephant, with a crier before him, giving out that he is going to be made a priest, and asking if any one knows anything against him. The precepts of Boodhoo require them to live by begging alms, and they still do so in the lower provinces of Ceylon, while in the higher they are not entirely dependent on others, but have considerable lands attached to the temples and colleges, which have been given them by different kings of Candy.

When the English conquered the dominions of the king of Candy, in 1815, they guaranteed the possession of these lands to the Boodhist priests ; and in consequence of this, they cannot, to this day, alienate any of the lands belonging to the temples, though they are otherwise ready to do so. What is still worse, the Dadala relic, or tooth of Boodhoo, is guarded by the English government, some of Her Majesty's soldiers mounting guard over it every day. A general of the British army, when governor of the island, honoured the ceremony of exposing the relic to the people, by being officially present at it, and walking in the procession. And the sum of about £150 is granted annually by the government of Ceylon, to support the expense of anointing Boodhoo's eyes, and for the performance of a devil dance ; and certificates have to be sent in by the Government servants, declaring that the devil dance has actually come off. This celebrated Dadala relic is kept

at the temple at Kandy, which, as having been the native capital till some thirty years ago, naturally contains the chief temple in the island. The outward appearance of the temple is nothing very particular. It is a pretty large quadrangle, with a verandah-like cloister inside, and in the middle of the quadrangle is a small chapel, the ground floor of which serves as a sort of entrance room. The relic itself is upstairs, and is in a very small room shut off from the rest of the apartment by curtains. It is not unlike the arrangement of the chancel of a small church. There are some images in the shrine, and in front of them is a large sort of metal dome about three feet high, decked out and hung about with numberless jewels. Within this is the relic, which is very rarely taken out. There is always an abundance of sweet but strong scented flowers, spread out on the altar before it, and at night there are always two or three priests keeping watch. The natives believe that whoever has possession of this relic will be masters of the island.

As for the temples in general, there is not a great deal of variety or of interest in them. They are, for the most part, situated on tops of hills, or, at least, elevated spots, and are surrounded by a grove of trees. The building consists of an inner room or shrine, and a sort of ante-chamber leading to it. This outer one is very often curiously painted throughout with pictures and processions, and what is still more common, with devils tormenting men in all sorts of ways with iron spikes and swords, and by burning them in all the varieties of roasting, boiling, frying, and grilling. The outer chamber is lighted by small windows, but the inner one has generally no windows, but is lighted by a little lamp, which is always kept burning. The image of Boodhoo is of colossal size, and is sometimes represented lying down on its side as in sleep, and sometimes sitting cross-legged, and in this latter posture he has generally Vishnu, and some other Brahminical deity (Siva, if we remember right) on either side of him. The priests live at or near the temple, and they receive the offerings of those who come there, and take care to keep the temple in order, and that there may be always fresh flowers before the image, and a lamp burning. Besides this, they go about occasionally and read the banna books, as has been already said. According to all accounts, however, the Buddhist religion is sinking very

fast. The priests do not keep up their former reputation as men of character and learning. The temples are beginning to be neglected, and the religion seems to have no deep hold on the minds of the people, so that it only wants a little impetus given to overthrow it. We know of an intelligent native having lately told a European, that he believed, in the course of ten years more, it would no longer exist; and though this is perhaps an exaggeration, yet still it shews so much, at least, as this, that it is no very formidable adversary.

The question is, then, what is to take its place? for no people have yet been found satisfied to be without a religion. Protestantism has been long making every effort to bring the natives over to itself; but up to the present time it has not succeeded. The Dutch never effected, and perhaps did not attempt, anything more than to draw away the people from Catholicism, and make them profess themselves Christians. But since the island has been in possession of the English, there have been very numerous Protestant missions established here, and some of these have certainly made great efforts to convert the natives from Boodhism. To give some idea of the extent to which Protestant bodies have laboured in this work, we will give some brief statistics concerning them.

The Church Missionary Society has four stations; at two of which they have not only numbers of schools in the country round about like the others, but two seminaries in which they educate sixty-five youths or adults, to prepare them to be native missionaries, schoolmasters, and catechists. In their schools they have 1325 boys, and 229 girls. The latter are, for the most part, received on to a foundation, and kept from their childhood, till they are given away by their parents in marriage, at the expense of the mission; so that they have full time to be thoroughly instructed in Protestantism, and if anything would seem to ensure a rising generation of pious Protestants, this admirable plan would. Indeed, we cannot but express the greatest admiration for the whole system and arrangements of the Church mission in Ceylon; many of its missionaries are hard-working and earnest-minded men. Nothing less, we conceive, than the fact of their working in and for a false system, could be sufficient to account for the little success they have met with. The American mission has seven stations in the Jaffna or north-

ern district. At a place called Batticotta, they have a large seminary containing 129 students, and a foundation school at Oodoville, where, besides others,\* 51 girls are supported. It has, moreover, eighteen parish schools, in which 4241 boys and 821 girls are educated. The Wesleyans are in South Ceylon; but like the Presbyterian mission just established, they are chiefly in the towns, so that they come more in contact with the Portuguese, Dutch, and English, than with the natives. They collect pretty large congregations; but they only educate 304 boys, and 451 girls. The Baptist mission educates about 500, of whom about one-third are girls. These numbers, however, were taken some years ago, since which time some of the missions have been very much increased by reinforcements from home, so that the numbers are probably much higher now. The government schools, too, of which there are great numbers, though they are not professedly religious schools, are yet really very strongly in favour of Protestantism; they are for all denominations, even Boodhists and Mahomedans; but whatever is taught about religion is in favour of Protestantism. They are taught to read the 'authorized version,' and to interpret it by their own skill and private judgment. The government helps, moreover, to support many of the missionary schools. The number of Protestant missionaries in the island exceeds, we are told, one hundred; yet, it must be confessed, that notwithstanding these numerous missions, well supported by every human means and appliance which the ample means of the parent society at home enables them to bring into play, it must be allowed that Protestantism has met with little success. We venture to say that every actual convert they make must have cost the society some hundreds of pounds; and though this were, it is true, cheaply done, if the soul of the poor creature were saved thereby, yet it is *very* dear, if it is not.

Nor do we take any ex-parte or questionable statements of the matter. It was our lot some years ago to be acquainted with a missionary belonging to the Church Missionary Society in Ceylon, whose character we knew as a man of great uprightness, as well as untiring zeal in his missionary work. And we heard the question put to him, whether he thought the number of real sincere converts who cared for their religion, and would stand by it, was very great. His reply was with a sigh, "Oh, I do not believe there are six *real* converts in the island."

The prospects of a Protestant harvest may, it is true, for all we know, have become more hopeful within the last few years. But however this may be, we confidently venture to affirm, that Protestantism will never make any deep and lasting impression on the Singhalese. Not only has it been unsuccessful hitherto, though circumstances have been most favourable for it, since all the influence of the Europeans has been in their favour, while the Catholics have not had the means of withstanding them, and the Boodhists have not cared to do so; but from what we know of the native character, Protestantism is not suitable to them, and will not take. They cannot in the least comprehend how their good works can "have the nature of sin," and be no better than filthy rags. Protestant services they find meaningless and dull in the extreme; they do not move them in the least; and private judgment in matters of religion is a thing that they cannot understand. Then, too, they do not see what they are to *do* in their new religion. There are no processions and ceremonies to see; good works are discouraged, as tending to foster their old notion of merit. They have not even the distasteful but necessary duties of making offerings to the priests and the temples, or of making their confessions, as they see their Catholic neighbours doing. All they have to do is, to go once a week to a long weary service in which there is nothing to interest them. If they gained merit by doing this, they would persevere; but they are carefully warned to beware of entertaining any such idea, and as they feel quite certain that they don't go there for the fun of the thing, the question *cui bono* naturally occurs to them, and they leave it off. Then, too, they see the white men who are trying to convert them to their own religion leading abominably bad lives themselves; and with the example of their own priests leading continent, retired, and abstemious lives, they compare the easy comfortable life which most of the missionaries lead out there, with their wives and children around them, and going about like the rest of the world, and the truth comes out bit by bit, that they think the Protestant religion a humbug. An intelligent native, a Protestant, without dreaming that he was touching on a tender point, ventured to hint to a Protestant there that the thought had struck him that if the Protestant clergymen would remain unmarried, they would be able to effect much more in going about among the

natives. And the missionary mentioned above said in our hearing one day, "These poor people cannot believe that we have come here for their sake, and not to benefit ourselves." The name *Seprimarda car'riyo*, "those of the reformed and repaired religion," seems to them to carry its own condemnation with it.

We have now to consider what are the present state and future prospects of the Church there. Catholics have, as we have seen, been emancipated for some time there, and enjoy similar privileges with the rest of the inhabitants; and the only disadvantage that they are now under is, that they are opposed and discountenanced in every way by the English, whose opinion, as being their conquerors, could not but carry at least some weight with it at first. At the present day there are not, we suppose, half a dozen Catholics of the upper classes of society throughout the island. However, they are beginning to think less of this, and their numbers are increasing very fast; they are now estimated at above 150,000. Those who become converts adhere very steadily to their faith, and bring their friends and relations to be instructed; so that a priest who is at all active and zealous for the welfare of the people, and who treats those who come to him kindly, has little else to do than to sit still and instruct those who come to him, and he will soon have his hands full. We know of a single priest who, under no extraordinary circumstances, baptised more than 112 adults in the course of a year. What is so satisfactory in those who are converted to the Catholic religion is, that they show a great interest in it; and their zeal in building churches and decking them out is something extraordinary. In our own country we build churches and found missions in order to make converts to the faith; but among the poor natives of Ceylon the order is reversed. If a few persons are made Catholics, they themselves build a church and found a mission, as far as they are able to do so; that is, they build a house for the priest, or rooms adjoining the chapel, and profess their willingness to support him, or to do their utmost towards it, if only one may be sent them. As it was only the maritime parts of Ceylon which were in the hands of the Portuguese and Dutch, the high and mountainous country continuing in the possession of the native king of Candy till the year 1815, it naturally happens that the greatest number of Catholics are found in the former; thus, in

Colombo, the capital of the island, and chief missionary station, there are 30,000 Catholics. And only twenty-six miles off, at a place on the western coast of the island named Negombo, very nearly the whole population, consisting of more than 20,000 souls, is Catholic. So, too, in the Jaffna district there are a great many Catholics; yet, to show how much progress has been made, even in the central province, where the Catholic religion was new to the people till lately, there are now between fifteen and twenty stations with churches, either built or about to be built, and in some of these a considerable number of Catholics. Yet almost all these have been built by a few Catholics settling in the place, and setting to work themselves, to prepare some place where the priest might say mass when he came, or rather to induce him to come to them. *For up to this time there has been, and is, but one priest in all the central province*, who, besides having the sole care of the principal station, Kandy, where there is an increasing congregation of about a thousand, has likewise the care of all these different stations situated at distances of twenty, forty, and even seventy miles off, in various directions, in most of which the travelling is very difficult, being through a hilly country with bad roads in some parts, and in a few none, and where conveyances are very dear and bad. The only thing that a single priest can do under such circumstances, and what is at present done, is this:—He resides chiefly at the principal station, where his congregation provide for him, as well as for keeping up the church, and at intervals makes journeys of two or three weeks long, taking at one time all the stations in one direction, and at another those in another, and so on. But of course it may easily be supposed that a sickly season, or his own weak health, or want of time, must constantly prevent him from visiting some of his numerous flocks, which are thus deprived of their only chance of making their confessions, or going to communion within the year. The missionary visits each place at some stated time, if possible on the patron saint of the Church's day, or rather a day or two before; and the poor Catholics make it a time of great holiday. In the morning there is generally some instruction given after mass, and during the day the people come to see the priest, to make their confessions and be instructed, and ask directions about different matters. And then in the evening there is the rosary

recited, or some easy prayer in their own language, and a sermon. And in some places the chief people take it by turns to deck out and illuminate the chapel, each taking the expense of one day. On the last day, the feast of the saint, all the people attend, mass is celebrated with as much solemnity as possible, and a sermon preached, and many go to communion. On his leaving the place the priest chooses out one of his congregation, the most regular and devout of the chief people of the place, and appoints him to ring the bell for the Angelus, and for prayers on Sundays and holidays, when they meet and say the rosary and other prayers, and the person appointed reads the devotions for mass and some instructions. It may however be readily imagined, that with so little attention paid to them, many of the poor Catholics are in a very ignorant state. There is one little village consisting entirely of a disbanded regiment of Caffres, who are now employed in making roads. They are all Catholics, and indeed very good ones as far as the will is concerned, since they are well disposed, and ready to do whatever their priest tells them. Yet their ignorance and obtuseness are so great, that some of them do not know whether or not they have souls; and when the missionary, as in duty bound, endeavours during his two or three days' sojourn among them, to instruct them in at least all that they are bound to know, and begins with questioning them on this point, they are disposed to decline entering into any such abstruse questions of psychology, as something far above them. They say that they do not know whether they have souls, that they are poor ignorant men, working hard all day, but that they will do anything that the priest tells them. And so firmly do they adhere to their religion, that though so very little attention is able to be paid them by their own priest, yet all attempts to convert them to Protestantism have entirely failed.

In one place some thirty or forty miles distant from Kandy, the chief station of the central province, in a wild and uninhabited part of the country, there was discovered some few years back a native village consisting entirely of Catholics. They had not had a priest among them within memory, but there was a ruinous chapel discovered, with an image of the Blessed Virgin remaining in it. Where they came from and when they settled there is not known, but as their skin is rather fairer than that of the generality of

Singhalese, it is supposed that they may have been originally of Portuguese extraction, and may have settled there when the Dutch took the Portuguese possessions, and proscribed their religion, and that they may have remained there without any spiritual ministrations throughout the Dutch persecutions. They are, as might be expected, in great ignorance, but still so zealous for their religion, that they will permit none but Catholics to reside in their village. They are now rebuilding their little church there, in order to have a fitting place for the missionary to say mass in, when he comes to pay them his annual visit for a few days. But there is no case in which it is more deplorable that the poor people cannot have a priest among them, not only because, if anything could make them deserving of it, it would be having stood firm to their faith so long, but also because those who are best acquainted with them, say that their devotion is such that they might be made a village of saints.

*In this way there are up and down the country as many as four hundred Catholic churches, to minister in which there are not more than thirty priests.* So that the destitution of the central province is not a singular case, and though in the maritime provinces the Catholic population is not so much scattered, and so can be more easily got at, yet, on the other hand, it is much more numerous; so that it must needs be, that a very large portion of the Catholic population is very little attended to. The island has, till within the last few years, been supplied with priests from the Portuguese college at Goa, set on foot by S. Francis Xavier; but what has recently taken place there, has made it undesirable that this arrangement should continue. And the Propaganda have lately sent out several Italian priests, as well as one or two Frenchmen and Spaniards, who have laboured very hard, and have met with abundant success. There are at present two Catholic bishops in the island. The Vicar Apostolic, who is a Portuguese, resides with four or five more Portuguese priests in a sort of conventual building at Colombo, the capital of the island, where there are ten churches. His coadjutor is an Italian of the congregation of St. Philip Neri, from which society there have been several missionaries, whose memory is still gratefully cherished among the natives, on account of their zeal and devotion in labouring among them, as well as of the wonderful miracles which they worked.

Nor is it only in regarding the destitution of the Catholic portion of the population, a great part of which must needs be left, at the present, without either the instruction or the sacraments necessary for salvation, that one's heart bleeds for the poor natives of Ceylon, but still more if one regards the very hopeful points in their character, inducing one to believe that, by common attention, they might be raised to being a religious people. It has already been observed that they seem to be very clear-sighted about religion, and do not seem disposed to put up with any humbug, such as we believe they consider Protestantism to be. Whereas, in the Universal Religion of the One True Church, there is something that evidently has a hold on their minds and affections. They plainly look up to it with reverence and veneration, and regard it as great and mysterious. Another point, too, which is very promising, is their great reverence and respect for the priests, and their tractableness and submission in being guided by them. The Portuguese priests have a good deal contributed to this by their retired and reserved manner of living, which is, to a certain degree, necessary, in those countries, to ensure respect. The natives cannot conceive a priest going out or mixing with society for pleasure, or, in fact, doing anything but giving himself up to thought and study, and the high duties of his office. Their confidence in him is so great, that they will bring their little disputes before him to settle, and if they are going to enter any compact or agreement, they think it a sufficient security that it should be made in the presence of a priest. And as they receive all that he says with great submission and respect, and with, at least, a good intention to act upon it, this is of course of great service to the missionary, as rendering it an easier matter to guide them.

Moreover, Catholicity seems to have had the effect of softening down the rivalries and distinctions of wealth and caste, and of uniting together those who have become subject to it. In spite of the Catholic population being made up of such heterogeneous elements, there is a great deal of *esprit du corps* among them, if it ought not to be described as something higher and better, so that they will readily join together for any religious purpose. What perhaps conduces to this is, that there has been something of the ancient system of the primitive Church kept up, which, as being made for an age when the Church was under

persecution, had, we suppose, very much the tendency of separating Christians off from the rest of the world, and uniting them very closely together. It is, at this day, a common thing in Ceylon for a person to do public penance in the church, the penitents being obliged to stand in some conspicuous place, and bearing a cross on their backs, while the catechist or sacristan points to them, and declares openly for what offence they are punished. They have, too, still kept up the agapæ or love feasts of the early Christians, which really seem to have a great tendency to promote good will and affection among them. It happened, for instance, about two years ago, that the inhabitants of one of the chief towns were attacked with cholera, which, in the course of ten days, carried off great numbers, especially of the European soldiers. Upon this, the Catholics assembled and agreed to offer up a public Novena for deliverance from the sickness, and sent to their priest, who was absent on a visit to some of his missions, asking his permission to begin it. The priest of course gave them leave, and hastened to return himself. On the last day but one of the Novena, the Catholics were seen bringing together large contributions of provisions. Mats were spread on the ground near the church, and each one, according to his ability, brought in offerings of bushels of rice, fish, vegetables, curry-powder, and cocoa-nuts. The poor, indeed, could bring little or nothing, but the rich made up for them, and all was thrown down into one great heap. All through the night there were numbers of cooks lighting their fires on the ground, washing rice and preparing curry, which towards the morning was cooked. At eight in the morning, all the people who were able to come, assembled at the church in their best clothes, to finish the Novena, and to offer the sacrifice of the mass, with all the solemnity that was possible under the circumstances of a poor and ill-provided mission. After this, the priest went in procession outside the church, and blessed the food which was then prepared. All the ground was spread over with mats, and the leaves of the plantain tree, cut into squares, were set out in order for plates, and plentifully supplied with rice and curry, and high and low, rich and poor, one with another, to the number of several hundreds, sat down together in one common feast. And thus they were rejoicing and making merry in brotherly love and unity while the frightful disease was at its height. But it

deserves to be remembered that no fresh case of cholera occurred among the Catholics after this. They have these love feasts on most great occasions, as especially on the last day that the priest is with them when he pays them his annual visit. And the liberal and generous way in which those who are able to give come forward to supply abundance for those who are not, as well as the kindly and friendly feeling that seems to exist among all, is very pleasing.

Moreover there are still, in some parts of Ceylon, some curious remnants of the times when the greater part of the island was Catholic, which, distorted as they are, are yet very interesting, and might be made of great service by zealous missionaries in restoring the true religion. There is, for instance, a place not far from Negombo, where there is a church especially dedicated to St. Anne, a saint who is especially venerated in Ceylon, and to this church a great many of the Catholics make pilgrimages from all parts of the island. A man or woman will set off and travel fifty or a hundred miles or more on foot, to visit St. Anne's chapel, where they will make some little offering according to their means, and go through some devotions for two or three days, and then return. But what is the most singular thing is, that this devotion to St. Anne is not confined to the Catholics, but that, at one particular time of the year, when her feast is celebrated with some splendour and a great concourse of people, many Mahomedans, too, come and pay their devotions, and, if we remember right, members of other false religions as well. This devotion has, it is true, a great deal in it that is false and distorted, but great use might be made of it, if advantage were taken of this meeting together of the people, and of their religious dispositions, to instruct them better, to preach to those who were still without the pale of the church. In short, if a good mission were given at this place and time, great good might be expected to result from it. But, hitherto, this excellent opportunity has been missed.

But while there are many points of great interest and hopeful encouragement to the missionary among the natives of Ceylon, there are on the other hand some peculiar difficulties. One of these is, that while, in most places, a missionary has to learn the one language of the country he is sent to, in Ceylon there are four languages

commonly spoken in all the principal towns, of each of which the priest must know something in order to work efficiently. The Tamul, spoken by the Malabars, is a very difficult language, which, however, prevails universally in the northern district, and of late there has been also a great number of Malabar Coolies over from the continent to supply the want of labourers, and these are now found throughout the island, and many of them are Catholics. There are, too, generally some hundreds among the soldiers of the English regiments who are Catholics, yet, up to this time, there is not a single English or Irish priest in the island,\* nor any one who knows the language well enough to preach fluently in it. The Portuguese are by far the best off, as, at least, two-thirds of the priests are their countrymen, but as it is becoming fashionable among the Portuguese part of the population to learn English, this language will soon be the least necessary of all. As for the poor Cinghalese, they have never yet had the benefit of hearing a good sermon in their own language, though preaching would probably have a great effect on them, if one may judge by the attention they pay to the written instructions or interpreted discourses which the European priests are, at present, able to give them. But it is not at any time an easy thing, for one already midway in life, to learn a new language perfectly, and a priest in Ceylon, as soon as ever he knows enough to be able to hear confessions, has but little time left to himself. The Cinghalese language too, though it is very ingenious as well as very copious, is yet not a very easy one. The construction, especially in long sentences and quotations, is involved and perplexed beyond everything, and the forms of words and of constructions used in writing or in set discourses, are very different from those used in the common colloquial language. They have absolutely no relative pronoun, sometimes simply leaving it out, as we often do in English, and sometimes supplying its place by particular forms of verbs, called relative forms, which is used when a relative is to be understood. They have not either any short vowels, but each consonant is supposed to contain a short vowel in itself, as, indeed, we find that the vowels sound all pretty

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\* Since this was written, there have, we have heard, been three priests sent to Ceylon from the Bishop of Marseilles' congregation, the Conceptionists, and of these one is an Irishman.

much alike in short syllables, unless there is an accent on them. The long vowels are made by different additional strokes to the consonant, according to the quality of the sound to be pronounced. The language is derived, in great part, from the Sanscrit and Pali, and one is surprised to find some of the simplest words, such, for instance, as the word *water*, and the days of the week, identical in sound or derivation with the English words.

But the most distressing trial to a missionary priest in Ceylon, is—not his poverty, which is generally extreme; nor is it being shut out from the comfort and advantage of intercourse with others, as most of them live in such seclusion that they perhaps do not see another priest more than once a-year; it is not their own wants or destitution under any shape that they feel most, but that of their flock. They see people around them in darkness and ignorance, groping about to find the true religion, yet docile and willing to be instructed, but they have no means of giving it them. They see children growing up without care or education, or if they receive any, brought up in schools of false systems of religion, where the most fatal notions are instilled into their minds, or what is worse still, in schools which ignore the existence of religion except as a science, and receive all sects and denominations alike, to give them the education of rationalistic infidels. They see all these other religions abundantly supplied with means and appliances, and having at work all the powerful machinery of colleges, printing-presses, societies and institutions of all sorts to convert the poor natives, and they themselves alone, without any of these means. Lastly, they see the heathen religion giving way and sinking beneath its own weight, and all sorts of false systems offering themselves to take its place, while they have not the power to set the true one before the eyes of those who, if they could only see and know it, would embrace it. But how can they believe unless they hear, and how can they hear without a preacher? and now at this critical moment, when Boodhism is falling, and they need missionaries to convert the heathens, they have not enough to attend to those who are already converted, to instruct them and give them the sacraments. Thirty priests can do but little in four hundred churches, scattered too, as they are up and down the country, at some distance from one another. Nor is the want of priests the only thing. In Ceylon, as in most

Eastern countries, the manner and feeling of the people do not permit of the priests going about and mixing familiarly with them. When once indeed the country is Catholic, and the real greatness of tender charity and of lowly humility is seen and felt, it may be hoped that such an unchristian thing as it seems to be, for the priest to keep aloof from the people and to put on the great man, will no longer be requisite. But at present, while the country is a heathen one, such an *οικονομία* is really necessary, and a contrary course of action would not bring honour on humility, but dishonour on the Christian priest and religion.

Hence, it is really necessary in the present state of things, that each priest in order to being efficient, should be provided with several catechists. These catechists being taken out from among the classes of people whom they have to do with, are well acquainted with their language, manners, and ways of thinking, and having been at the same time thoroughly instructed by the priest, they serve not only to interpret the language of each to the other, but likewise their thoughts and feelings. The catechist sees and instructs those who come to confession, before they go to the priest, and in short, prepares the priest's way, by which considerable labour is saved, and a great deal effected that from diffidence or misunderstanding could not otherwise be done. The catechist can mix freely with the people, whereas the priest must needs be on the reserve a good deal to the people, as the latter from their very reverence and respect are to him.

But where are the catechist any more than the priests to be got from? While the Protestant societies are supplied with thousands and tens of thousands yearly, for the support of the schools and seminaries, the Catholics have not throughout the island a single seminary for educating priests, catechists, and schoolmasters, and they have hardly a school entirely under their own direction. Ceylon, which in the time of the Portuguese had seven different religious orders established in it, has now not one, so that there is not at present any prospect of a relief from the present spiritual destitution under which they lie.

Were there but one good college in the island, which might be founded for a moderate sum compared with what it would cost in England, many boys could be found who might be educated to be catechists, and who, if they were found steady and careful in that capacity, might be after

some years raised to the priesthood. And the natives being very liberal and well disposed, would no doubt come forward to support such an establishment ; though poor as they are, and already supporting their priests, for the most part it is more than they could do to set it on foot. But until something of this kind is done, there is no prospect of providing the country with a sufficient number of priests. Even if they could be sent out in sufficient numbers from France or Italy, they could never altogether supply the place of priests and catechists who were familiar with the language and manners of the country.

It is indeed a humbling thought to those who are Catholics, as well as Englishmen, to see the mischief their country has done to the true religion. Our possessions in different parts of the world are far larger than those of any other kingdom, but wherever we have carried our arms, we have introduced not virtue and truth, but infidelity and fresh vices, with which our colonists have degraded themselves below the uncivilized savages whom they have conquered. The spectacle which the natives of India, for instance, has seen, is of a powerful nation breaking in upon them, draining them of their wealth, and while they reproved or even punished them for their vice and immorality, far outstripping them in the same excesses. They see their conquerors professing a religion which has not the power to keep them even outwardly moral and decorous in their conduct. And it is to this religion which Englishmen in these countries, if one may judge by their lives, seem themselves to scorn at, that the poor natives are invited. Tens or indeed hundreds of thousands of pounds are annually poured out of this country, by numerous Protestant societies, to spread their pernicious errors throughout the English colonies, and to distract the poor heathens by the sight of so many bodies of "christians," all wrangling and disagreeing among themselves. Surely, if anything could make them feel sure that the christian religion was not right, it would be seeing that its professors all differed from one another in their creed, and were only alike in their disregard of its precepts. In the mean time it is melancholy to think, that the true religion does not come to them at all from us. In bringing these poor British subjects to the Catholic faith, the English nation itself takes no part. It is foreign nations that spend their money and their lives, in spreading the true religion in our

colonies. We earnestly trust that this will not continue, but that our national spirit will be roused, so as not to allow all the good to be done by other nations, while the evil is from us. We would not for the very love of our country, that the true religion should have been spread in our possession by other nations, and but vice and false religion by her.

If having invited and eagerly embraced the true religion when first they heard of it, and immediately after laying down their lives for it—if suffering a long persecution, and adhering throughout steadfastly to their faith, though left for the most part without priests to exhort and sustain them, to instruct them, and minister the Sacraments to them—if being still ready to receive the truth when it is fairly put before them, and being docile and tractable in following the instructions of their priests—if the circumstance of their own native heathenism being ready to fall, with nothing to take its place but worldliness and infidelity,—if showing a real sense of what is right and true, by rejecting all the attempts of Protestantism as they have done hitherto, while the number of converts to the true church daily increases, and are making petitions to God and man that priests may be sent them, for whom they have long since built churches and houses, and promise to do their best in supporting them—if all these circumstances can render a country interesting, and give it a claim to the sympathies and assistance of its wealthier and more fortunate fellow men, the poor natives of Ceylon have a right to be attended to.

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ART. V.—1.—*Report on the Sanatory Condition of the Labouring Population.*

2.—*An Act for Encouraging the Establishment of Public Baths and Washhouses.*

3.—*The 11 & 12 Vict., entitled, "An Act for promoting the Public Health."*

SO long as a nation continues to be only moderately peopled, and the inhabitants to a great extent diffused over rural districts, they are obviously less exposed to those causes of disease, which, under different circumstan-

ces, affect their vigour and impair their health. Pure air they at least have in abundance; the limpid stream, or sparkling well, supplies them with a superfluity of water, and as their occupations are generally under the open sky, God supplies them with the light which human legislation too frequently denies.

But a nation never did, nor, indeed, ever can, long limit itself to detached habitations. The Indians have their *crails*, and the Arabs their congregated tents. Man is essentially a gregarious animal, and, from the very first, the attracting powers which bind him to his kind, have ever exerted a dominant influence. This attraction, which we may presume was less powerful in very early ages, augments in force as time goes on; the necessity of mutual defence is strongly felt, and ten thousand relations of partly civilized life demand a close vicinity. So probably arose the walled towns of Britain, so the innumerable villages which stud its surface, till now we have scarce any where to deal with a rural people of Arcadian times, but with one in which the vast masses of a swarming population have, from the flaunting metropolis to the meanest village, established themselves in close and intimate proximity.

We pass over all the intermediate stages, we leave Defoe and others to report how much the sweating sickness of 1485, or the plague of 1665, was really dependant on the then miserably polluted state of London, and how far an appreciation of the then evil should not have called on the authorities of a more enlightened age to lend themselves heart and soul to its removal; and we proceed to discuss, in a brief space, the existing position of such a question, most unhappily till lately an object of arduous contest.

It was a very long time indeed ere men began to have the least suspicion that their own health, or that of their wives, or children, or servants, was in the least dependant on the filthy cesspools, or the want of ventilation, and the and drainage of their habitations. True, indeed, it is, that they saw their poor offspring pining before their eyes, and themselves weak, "upset," "unfit for business," and indisposed in a thousand different ways. A trip to Brighton was the result, from which they speedily returned in unconscious innocence to meet again evils of whose existence they had no idea. Ignorance induced those evils; that ignorance still prevails.

There were, however, some people in the world who saw the enormous mischief, more especially among the poor, which resulted from the culpable neglect of sanatory measures. In the year 1838, three physicians, from their habits intimately acquainted with the condition of the metropolis, addressed letters to the Poor-Law Commissioners, strongly urging on their attention the existence of many scandalous nuisances, inimical alike to health, to morals, and to life, many of which might, in their opinion, be remedied by proper legislation.

The hint thus happily given, at once gained attention; the House of Lords, in 1839, voted an address to her Majesty, praying for an inquiry, which she was graciously pleased to order, and the report heading this article was the result, while out of it sprung, after various delays contingent on different changes in the ministry, the important act passed in the last session of parliament.

We shall hereafter notice the nature of its provisions; at present, we shall only consider the broad principle on which it is based, and the effect which it produced on the minds of those who, as the members of local municipal boards, or corporations, thought their mission affected by the measure.

No sooner had the Health of Towns Bill of the session of 1847 been laid on the table of Parliament, than it raised up a perfect hurricane of hostility. Vested interests were said to be invaded; municipal government, the grand palladium of England's liberties, would no longer have existence when controlled by a central and despotic commission; and the supposed interests of petty vestries, or worn-out corporations, were held to preponderate in the scales against the health, the comfort, and the cleanliness of an entire nation.

The metropolis took the lead in this vehement opposition. The effete corporation of the city required that government should withdraw *it* from the operation of the bill. On every side some pursy alderman selected a special nuisance as his favourite and pet. Through the stinking air of Puddle Dock, voices might be heard, defensive of all which was filthy and poisonous. Smithfield sent forth a corporation howl in anticipation of its downfall, and the bloody kennels of Whitechapel, diffusing pestilence and misery, found ready advocates in favour of the nuisance.

While a large body of the city corporations were thus urging their opposition to the measures of government, it was a curious thing to find that, between three or four centuries ago, the filthy state of what then constituted London, attracted the attention of both the inhabitants and legislature.

In the fourth year of Henry VII. a petition was presented by the inhabitants "*of St. Faith's and St. Gregory's in London, near adjoining the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's,*" setting forth that "the parishes aforesaid" were greatly "*annoyed and distempered by corrupt airs engendered in the said parishes, by occasion of blood and other fouler things, by reason of the slaughter of beasts..... had and done in the butchery of St. Nicholas,..... and whereas sundry complaints have been made to the mayor and aldermen during sixteen years, and no remedy found,*" .....they pray the king, "*out of his abundant grace,*" .....to succour "*his poor subjects in this behalf, considering that in few noble towns or cities, or none within Christendom,.....the common slaughter of beasts should*" .....be within "*the walls of the same.*"

Such is the substance of the petition in the preamble of the act. The legislative result accords:

"No butcher or his servant is to slay any beast within the walls of London, or *any walled town* in England,.....under a penalty of twelve-pence for an ox or cow, and eight-pence for every other beast."

The penalty is recoverable by action of debt, half going to the informer, and half to the crown. We have not been able to find that this stringent act has been repealed, and if not, as we fully believe, it might even now, should necessity occur, partly meet the corporate selfishness which exists.

This rather curious corporate desire to perpetuate a monopoly of filth, soon spread to the western parts of London; the large and noisy parish of St. Marylebone took up the question with great vehemence, and, associated by deputation with seven other parishes, passed resolutions of a highly condemnatory nature. Petitions from London were then presented, praying that the metropolis should be exempted from the bill; and government, with a readiness not very common, yielded to the demand. For this sundry reasons were assigned; it was insinuated in the

house, that perhaps the *near approach of a city election* had something to do with the concession; but we are bound to absolve the premier and his colleagues from being actuated by such a consideration; we have no doubt that the difficulty of enacting such a general law at the very close of a stormy session alone influenced them in their adoption of this step; we think that the exclusion of the metropolis was simply conceded, because the foolish but powerful opposition of the city corporation would, *for a time*, have obstructed any change; and therefore we are quite satisfied that the government was not deterred by political considerations, but by a sincere desire to obtain, (if possible), a certain amount of good legislation, leaving the metropolis to be dealt with afterwards.

We cannot, however, so easily defend the ministry for their subsequent abandonment of the bill, unless we may suppose that they were apprehensive of its being so greatly mutilated before it became law, as to require another act in the present session, to "explain, amend, and enlarge" its provisions. Under these circumstances, it was perhaps as well that a perfect measure of sanatory reform had not to overcome the opposition of those who might be disposed to argue, that as a Health of Towns Bill already exists, a more extended or stringent one is unnecessary. We cannot help thinking, however, that if Lord John Russell had shown as much energy and determination in favour of this measure, as he displayed on *another occasion*, we should scarcely have been obliged to wait a whole year for this most important act. Manchester might have yet been without a bishop, had the act for erecting that bishopric been sacrificed instead of the Health of Towns Bill; but as a *trifling* compensation for this loss, we should probably have had the gratification, ere this, of knowing that measures were in progress in all our large towns and cities, *except London*, to save thousands from unnecessary sickness and premature death. Still, the fate of the Manchester Bishopric bill tends to confirm us in the opinion above stated; viz., that an imperfect sanatory bill might have proved an obstacle to a more perfect one; for of the four bishoprics proposed to be erected by the Manchester bill, the only one that was actually agreed to, was that which had been virtually established by a previous act of parliament; and we imagine that Sir R. Inglis himself is hardly sanguine enough to expect to hear any more of the others.

Of the necessity of a comprehensive sanatory act, the most obstinate opponent of "unconstitutional centralization" cannot pretend to be doubtful. Were he really so, the voluminous "Report of the Poor Law Commissioners on the Sanatory Condition of the Labouring Classes of Great Britain," would quickly undeceive him. From beginning to end, it is a record of the incredible filth and misery in which the working classes of our large towns exist. This is, indeed, so generally admitted to be the case, that we shall forbear to give more than one or two examples of it, our principal object being to demonstrate the practicability of preventing a large portion of the sickness to which our labouring population is subject.

We will not take upon ourselves to say that the following description of the wynds of Glasgow, by Mr. Chadwick, Dr. Alison, and Dr. Cowan, is far from the worst case given in the report; but we can safely assert that there are many as bad.

"We entered a dirty low passage like a house door, which led from the street through the first house to a square court, immediately behind which court, with the exception of a narrow path around it leading to another long passage through a second house, was occupied entirely as a dung receptacle of the most disgusting kind. Beyond this court the second passage led to a second square court, occupied in the same way by its dunghill; and from this court there was yet a passage leading to a third court, and third dungheap. There were no privies nor drains there, and the dungheaps received all filth which the swarm of wretched inhabitants could give; and we learned that a considerable part of the rent of the houses was paid by the produce of the dungheap."—Report, page 24.

Would any one believe, without such indisputable evidence as this, that such things exist in the second city of a country which has built 300 churches in five years? How can men, whose physical condition is so frightful, be expected to benefit by the erection of any number of churches? and how can their moral state be superior to their physical? Bad as London is, we doubt whether in a public court it could produce such a scene as the above. In private houses, however, the following evidence will prove that it can:

"Mr. Howell, one of the council of Civil Engineers, who has acted extensively as a surveyor in the metropolis, says, 'My duties, as one of the surveyors to a fire-office, call me to all parts of the town, and

I am constantly shocked, almost beyond endurance, at the filth and misery in which a large part of the population are permitted to drag on a diseased and miserable existence.’”

He instances two houses situated in a considerable public thoroughfare, and letting at from £30 to £40 a-year each.

“ I found the whole area of the cellars of both houses were full of night-soil, to the depth of three feet, which had been permitted for years to accumulate from the overflow of the cesspools ; upon being moved the stench was intolerable, and no doubt the neighbourhood must have been more or less infected by it.”—p. 45.

These extracts will serve to show that there is no exaggeration in the following general description of the sanatory state of the labouring classes, given by Dr. Southwood Smith, in his report on the prevalence of fever in the metropolis, in the year ended March 20th, 1838 :

“ While systematic efforts, on a large scale, have been made to widen the streets, to remove obstructions to the circulation of free currents of air, to extend and perfect the drainage and sewerage, and to prevent the accumulation of putrifying vegetable and animal substances, in the places in which the wealthier classes reside, nothing whatever has been done to improve the condition of the districts inhabited by the poor.....Such is the filthy, close, and crowded state of the houses, and the poisonous condition of the localities in which the greater part of the houses are situated, from the total want of drainage, and the masses of putrifying matters of all sorts, which are allowed to remain and accumulate indefinitely, that during the last year, in several of the parishes, both relieving officers and medical men lost their lives, in consequence of the brief stay in those places which they were obliged to make in the performance of their duties. Yet in these pestilential places, the industrious poor are obliged to take up their abode ; they have no choice ; they must live in what houses they get nearest the places where they find employment.”

It is to prevent any, the slightest infringement of a system of “ self-government,” which has permitted the existence of such a frightful state of things as this, and to prevent the indispensable interference of government to abolish it, that the name of the constitution was invoked ! But we do not believe that hatred of government interference was the true cause of the opposition raised by corporate bodies to the Health of Towns Bill ; it was a disinclination to carry out thoroughly effective measures for draining and cleansing towns. Even the original bill gave no power to

government of interfering, so long as corporate bodies do their duty, except to give advice as to the best system of drainage, &c., and to prevent councils, and town commissioners from levying too heavy rates; in other words, to prevent jobbing. Since, then, town councils and commissioners were to retain full control over all that concerns the draining, lighting, supplying with water, &c., of their respective towns, and, in the case of unincorporated towns, even to preserve their present state of filth, if they please, we are justified in asserting, that the hostile corporations were animated by a much greater love of ease and filth, than a dread of a government attack on British freedom. The only other motive they could possibly have is, that they would prefer a separate act for each town, (*when they chose to apply for it*), to one comprehensive measure, which would establish a uniform system throughout England. But this objection would be too puerile to deserve notice, did it not afford means for adjourning the settlement of the question *sine die*.

We presume that sufficient evidence has been given of the filthy state of our towns to render any comments superfluous. But supposing this to be granted, we shall have done little to prove the necessity of a sweeping measure of sanatory reform, if we cannot also prove that it will be followed by a great amelioration of the sanatory condition of our labouring population. It may be said that the deficiency or bad quality of their food, the nature of their employments, and the *love of filth*, inherent in the poor according to many, may have a greater share in producing disease than the want of drainage, water, and air. But thanks to the report above quoted, and to the returns of the public baths established in London, we are enabled to give a conclusive denial to this.

"The evidence adduced from Glasgow and Spitalfields," says the Report, (p. 177.) "proves that the greater proportion of those attacked by disease are in full work at the time; and the evidence from the fever hospitals proves that the greatest proportion of the patients are received in high bodily condition."

That the labouring classes have not such an affection for filth as is pretended, is proved by the tens of thousands who have availed themselves of the very limited accommodation provided by the two or three baths and wash houses established in London: and to accuse them of indifference to

cleanliness because they reside in filthy houses, is as sensible as to accuse them of indifference to hot-house fruits and vegetables, or any other delicacies of the table, because they eat bad apples, or worse potatoes. The poor *must* take the nearest house to their work that they can find. If it is dirty, they can no more afford time to cleanse it, than they can money to purchase luxuries.

We shall now proceed to show, first, that fever may attack the healthiest without any predisposing cause in the patient; and secondly, that wherever sanatory precautions have been taken, they have been successful. Dr. S. Smith, in his *Treatise on Fever*, gives the following remarkable example of a number of healthy men being attacked by fever:

“Dr. Potter states, that he witnessed the rise of a most malignant yellow fever, in a valley in Pennsylvania, which contained numerous ponds of fresh water, and which, from the heat and dryness of the season, emitted a most offensive smell: that the fever prevailed most, and with the greatest degree of malignity, among the people who lived nearest these ponds: and adds an exceedingly instructive case, illustrative of the generation and operation of this cause of fever recorded by Major Prior, in his account of a fever which attacked the army of the United States at Gallipolis..... ‘The fever,’ says this intelligent officer, ‘was, I think, justly charged to a large pond near the cantonment. An attempt had been made two or three years before to fill it up, by felling a large number of trees, that grew on and near its margin, and by covering the wood thus fallen with earth. This intention had not been fulfilled. In August the weather was extremely hot, and uncommonly dry; the water had evaporated considerably, leaving a great quantity of muddy water, with a thick slimy mixture of putrifying vegetables, which emitted a stench almost intolerable. The inhabitants of the village, principally French, and very poor, as well as filthy in their mode of living, began to suffer first, and died so rapidly that a general consternation seized the whole settlement. The garrison continued healthy for some days, and we began to console ourselves with the hope that we should escape altogether: we were, however, soon undeceived, and the reason of our exemption heretofore was soon discovered. The wind had blown the air arising from the pond from the camp: but as soon as it shifted to the reverse point, the soldiers began to sicken: in five days half the garrison was on the sick list, and in ten half of them were dead.....As some decisive measures became necessary to save the remainder of the troops, I first thought of changing my quarters, but as the station was in every respect more eligible than any other, and had been made so by much labour and expense, I deter-

mined to try the experiment of changing the condition of the pond, from which the disease was believed to have arisen. A ditch was accordingly cut; what little water remained was conveyed off, and the whole surface covered with fresh earth. The effects of this scheme were soon obvious. Not a man was seized with the worst form of the fever after the work was finished, and the sick were not a little benefited, for they generally recovered, though slowly, because the fever became a common remittent, or gradually assumed the intermitting form. A few cases of remitting and intermitting fever occurred occasionally till frost put an end to it in every form. As soon as the contents of the pond were changed by cutting the ditch, the cause, whatever it was, seems to have been rendered incapable of communicating the disease in its worst form.'"—pp. 355-7.

Dr. Smith gives many similarly striking instances of sudden illness attacking men previously healthy, and of their rapid recovery when the causes of disease were removed: these instances being, however, chiefly derived from the experience of military officers abroad, they may not have the same weight as equally conclusive evidence at home would have. But unfortunately so few attempts have been made in England on a large scale to promote the public health, that the report, from which we have quoted, is very deficient in this respect; and we must place more dependance on the fact, that in many ill-drained streets, *fever is never absent*, than we can on any existing proofs of the beneficial results of good drainage, if we would show the imperative necessity of improved sanatory regulations. Putting the case in the weakest point of view, we can argue from the absence of other causes, that imperfect drainage must be *a* cause, if not *the* cause, of the frightful prevalence of fever amongst our working classes. Some streets badly, or not at all drained, are *never* free from fever, according to Dr. Smith: every one's experience will tell him, that in well-drained streets such a thing is unknown. The undrained streets are always inhabited by the poor certainly; but we have already seen that extreme poverty has nothing to do with the liability to disease, since the majority of patients at the fever hospitals are in full employment at the time. Besides, is it probable that the successive residents in one street should all possess means, habits, and occupations, so exactly identical, that they should be equally exposed to sickness? To what cause, then, can we ascribe this fact, if not to the want of drainage? The following extracts,

so far as they go, exhibit the benefits derived from sanatory improvements:

"About thirty years since Beccles began a system of drainage, which it has continued to improve, till at the present time every part of the town is well drained.....Bungay on the contrary, with equally convenient opportunities for drainage, has neglected its advantages, has one or two large reservoirs for filth in the town itself, and some of its principal drains are open ones. The result is, that Bungay, with a smaller proportion of town inhabitants, has become of late years less healthy than Beccles.....The proportions of deaths to the population for the last thirty years has been for—

	BECCLES.	BUNGAY.
"Between the years 1811 and 1821.....	1 in 67.....	1 in 69.
..... 1821 and 1831.....	1 in 72.....	1 in 67.
..... 1831 and 1841.....	1 in 71.....	1 in 59."
		p. 28.

"At Lyons, from 1800 to 1806 the annual mortality in the prisons was 1 in 19; from 1806 to 1812, it was 1 in 31; from 1812 to 1819, it was 1 in 34; and from 1820 to 1826, 1 in 43: a similar amelioration has also been remarked in the prisons of Rouen, and some other large towns in France," in consequence of improved cleanliness, ventilation, and diet.—p. 217.

Thus, from the first of these statements we find, that whilst the average duration of life has been increased between four and five years in Beccles, it has diminished no less than ten years in Bungay; thus reversing the relative position of the two towns, Bungay having been the healthiest during the first period between 1811 and 1821. In the second statement, the effect of greater cleanliness is much more striking. We can easily imagine that the state of the French prisons at the commencement of this century, left no small room for improvement; and the result of this improvement is, that whilst a man committed to prison before 1806, had only 19 years to live; one committed to the same prison since 1820, may reasonably expect to live 43. If such an improvement as this could be effected in Great Britain, we should no doubt have all the disciples of Malthus up in arms at the frightfully increased 'pressure of population upon food,' which must be the result; and their strenuous opposition to any sanatory measure would probably prove more formidable to combat than even the selfishness and apathy at present existing on the subject. Immensely increased destitution, and consequently increased poor rates, would be confidently predicted

as the reward of the sacrifices to be made in the cause of health. But the invaluable report again comes to our aid, and, together with the equally valuable facts brought to light by Dr. S. Smith's perseverance and industry, enables us to meet the Malthusians on their own grounds. The following table\* exhibits the astounding paradox, that the greater the mortality is, the more numerous are the births:

	The annual average rate of increase of population has been per 10,000 persons between 1831 and 1841,	Proportion of Births and Deaths to population in the year ended June 30, 1840.	Proportion of Births and Deaths to every 10,000 persons in the same period.	Excess in every 10,000 persons of Births above Deaths.
The fourteen counties where the mortality has been the <i>least</i> . . . . .	{ .... 1.12 .....	{ deaths 1 in 54 births 1 in 34	deaths 184 } births 297 }	113
The fourteen counties where it has been <i>intermediate</i> . . . . .	{ .... 1.21 .....	{ deaths 1 in 48 births 1 in 33	deaths 208 } births 302 }	94
The fourteen counties where it has been <i>greatest</i> . . . . .	{ .... 1.83 .....	{ deaths 1 in 39 births 1 in 29	deaths 259 } births 348 }	89

The most ultra-Malthusian can find no pleasure in such a picture as this. It will be seen from the above table, that in the fourteen counties where the mortality is lowest, the population has increased at the rate of 1.12 per cent. per annum, whilst in the fourteen counties where it is highest, it has actually increased at the rate of 1.84 per cent.; that is, that 1,120 persons have been added in ten years to every 10,000 healthy persons, and 1,830 to every 10,000 unhealthy persons! Let us now see what Dr. S. Smith says on the effect of sickness on poor rates:

"No returns can show the amount of suffering which the poor have had to endure.....during the last year; but the present returns indicate some of the final results of that suffering; they show that out of 77,000 persons (relieved), 14,000 have been attacked with fever, one fifth part of the whole; and that out of the 14,000 attacked nearly 1,300 have died. The public, meantime, have suffered to a far greater extent than they are aware of, from this appalling amount of wretchedness, sickness, and mortality. Independently of the large amount of money which they have had to pay in the support of the sick, and of the families of the sick, pauperized in consequence of the heads of these families having

\* Report, p. 182.

become unable to pursue their occupations, they have suffered still more severely from the spread of fever to their own habitations and families.....The expenditure necessary to the adoption and maintenance of these measures of prevention," (sewerage, drainage, &c.) "would ultimately amount to less than the cost of the disease now constantly engendered. The most pestilential of those places, when once put into a wholesome condition, would be maintained in that state at a comparatively small expense; whereas, as long as they are allowed to remain in their present condition, the results must continue the same; it follows that the prevention of the evil, rather than the mitigation of the consequences of it, is not only the most beneficent, but the most economical course."\*

We consider that the above affords one of the strongest arguments that can be advanced in favour of the question, when regarded only in a pecuniary point of view. Here we find no less than one-fifth of all the paupers relieved were compelled to seek relief in consequence of want, probably produced by the inability to labour which results from sickness. If we suppose that for each pauper attacked with fever, two others, (a very small proportion), were brought to destitution through this illness, we shall have three-fifths of the whole number relieved, unnecessarily thrown on the poor rates for support. The Malthusian will also observe, that the population has not undergone any great diminution, the victims of fever having only been decimated—it is seldom more—and that the remaining nine-tenths have been forced to spend a most disagreeable *vacation* in a bed of sickness.

We trust we have satisfactorily shown that every thing, even on the lowest principles, is in favour of a sanatory measure, and opposed to the late system—or rather absence of all system. We have even shown, that where disease and misery operate most powerfully against the duration of life, their effect in preventing redundancy of population is more than counterbalanced by the increased number of births: for, supposing that the increase of births only kept pace with the increase of deaths, the balance would decidedly be with long life and few births, against short life and many births, for this reason: that as it requires a certain number of years to convert the raw material, children, (in the language of political economists), into the manufactured article labourers, and as this period

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\* Report on the prevalence of Fever in the Metropolis in 1837-8.  
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is the same for a short-lived, as it is for a long-lived man; it follows, that to produce a given quantity of the manufactured article, a greater quantity of the raw material will be required in the former case than in the latter, and also a larger proportion of the whole duration of life will be passed in unproductive infancy. The check upon population, therefore, which disease and premature death may be supposed to provide, turns out, in this view of the matter, to be nothing more than a useless waste of the raw material, infant life. In a pecuniary light—not to mention higher considerations—this must be allowed to be at least as great an evil, as the heavy charge on the poor rates produced by the ravages of fever among the working classes, when the time, trouble, and expense of rearing children to a useful and productive age are duly considered.

Every one residing in a large town must have occasionally experienced the sensations resulting from the present abominable system of clearing the sewers, by tearing up the pavement, bringing up to the surface, and allowing to remain in the streets for hours, the accumulated filth of *ten years*. Against this system, and in favour of that of *flushing* the sewers, Mr. Roe, civil engineer, gives the following evidence:

*Question.*—"The structural expense being lower, is the ultimate expense of cleansing lower also?—Yes: the expense of cleansing the sewers is about 50 per cent. less than the prevalent mode. Our expense (in the Holborn and Finsbury district) of cleansing the sewers was about £1200 per annum; we save £600 of that, and expect to save more; but to this must be added the saving to the public of the cleansing of the private drains, formerly choked by the accumulation in the sewers. This saving, on a moderate calculation, is found to be upwards of £300 per annum.

"During what intervals are deposits allowed to remain on the old mode? The average is in one set of sewers about five years, and in another about ten years."—p. 375.

The space we have devoted to the report, and the extensive consideration we are desirous of bestowing on the Public Health Act, will preclude us from saying much on the subject of baths and wash-houses; indeed, no objections are made to their establishment, except on the score of expense, and the provisions of the Act have been already, or are in the course of being, extensively carried out. We shall merely state that the benefits

which may be expected from them can scarcely be overrated, as our readers will admit, when they hear that 150,000 persons bathed, and about 1,000,000 articles of clothing were washed at the public baths and wash-houses in George Street, Euston Square, London, during the year 1847, and that 30,000 persons bathed at those in Goulston Square, during the five months ending at Christmas.

We must now turn our attention to the Act itself—the final and authorized edition of the much reviled and often altered and amended (?) Health of Towns Bill, the different editions of which, in its progress through Parliament, have resembled those endless editions which it has become the fashion for the “ordinary channels of information” to go through in this eventful year, both in the multiplicity of them, and in the alternations of hope and fear with which they inspired the friends of improvement and reform. There is also a resemblance, we fear, between the results of the revolutions which have caused the necessity for those numberless newspaper editions, and the result of all the changes made in the Act under consideration—a feeling of disappointment at the little that has been effected, in comparison with the many things promised. And we cannot but think that, if the Ministry had shown as much determination in demanding a Coercion Act against filth, the source of disease, and consequently of discontent, as they did in passing coercion bills against those, a large portion of whom (we may fairly assume) have been brought to destitution—and through it induced to join in the plots of designing or misguided men—by sickness, to which they would never have been liable, but for the neglect of past governments in not passing such a law,—we cannot but think that we should have seen some more satisfactory reference to the subject in the Speech from the Throne, than the simple expression of “an earnest hope that a foundation has been laid for continual advances in this beneficial work.” If a fitting superstructure be raised, then indeed the foundation will not have been laid in vain; but of the probability and practicability of this, we regret to say we entertain great doubts, in consequence of the mode in which the act is to be brought into operation in places already possessing local acts—that is, in other words, in all, or nearly all, our large towns. In these cases, the only power bestowed on the “General Board of Health” (besides that of instituting certain

enquiries of which we shall hereafter speak) is that of making a provisional order, bringing the town in which the inquiry has taken place, under the operation of the Act, or any part of it; but which provisional order is of no effect without the sanction of Parliament, and to be subsequently obtained in each separate instance! The effect of this will no doubt be, to drag some unwilling culprits, in the shape of neglectful corporations, before the bar of Parliament, there to show cause why sentence should not be passed upon them; and were the sentence to follow conviction in this court as surely as it does in others, we should be perfectly content to leave the arraignment of each traitor to the cause of the public health, to such a warm and steady advocate of it as is the First Commissioner of Woods and Forests. But unfortunately we cannot forget the fate which attended the decisions and "provisional orders" of a government board established not many years since, and constituted in a manner, and for a purpose, not very dissimilar (in their reports and recommendations to Parliament) to those of the General Board of Health. We can but express our earnest hope, that the reports and "provisional orders" of this Board will meet with better success, and cause far more satisfaction than the celebrated *decisions* of the Railway Department of the Board of Trade.

The "General Board of Health," constituted by this Act, will consist of two officers, one of whom only is to receive any salary, with the First Commissioner of Woods, Forests, &c., for the time being, as president. The powers of the Board are to continue only for five years from the date of the passing of the Act. The Board may appoint as many Superintending Inspectors as they may think fit, subject to the approval of the Treasury. It will be the duty of these inspectors to make local enquiries, wherever one-tenth of the rate-payers in any place may petition for such enquiry, or where the number of deaths for a series of years has exceeded the general average, in order to ascertain the condition of the sewerage, drainage, supply of water, &c. Fourteen days' public notice of their intention to hold this investigation must be given. Should their report be unfavourable, the Board of Health, in their turn, are to report to Her Majesty, who is empowered by order in council to declare the Act to be in force in the place in question, provided it has no local act.

The costs, or such part of them as the Treasury may think fit, of the preliminary enquiry, are to be ultimately chargeable on the rates of each town or district, and to be deemed a debt due to the treasury, which must be repaid in not more than five instalments, with interest at the rate of five per cent. on the amount due.

When the act is thus declared by order in council to be in force in any town, if incorporated, the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses are to form the local Board of Health, and to exercise all the powers vested in such boards,—such as the management of the sewerage, the appointment of officers of health, &c.; if unincorporated, the provisions of the act are to be executed by so many persons as the queen may appoint. The members of these boards must reside within seven miles of the town or district for which they are appointed, must possess real or personal property to the amount of £1000, or be rated to the relief of the poor on the annual value of not less than £30, and must be elected by the rate-payers.

The powers vested in these local bodies will prove that, *when* the Act shall have struggled into operation in any place, it will be very far from inefficient; for, in addition to the following summary of the duties which Lord Morpeth, on the introduction of the measure, said he intended should be imperatively required of the local boards, viz.—

“To hold meetings for transaction of business; to appoint a surveyor; an inspector of nuisances; to procure a map of their district; to make public sewers; to substitute sufficient sewers in case old ones be discontinued; to require owners or occupiers to provide house-drains; to cleanse and water streets; to appoint or contract with scavengers; to cleanse, cover, or fill up offensive ditches; to keep a register of slaughter-houses; to keep a register of certain lodging-houses; to provide a sufficient supply of water for drainage, public and private, and for domestic use”—

They will have to take care that “no new house shall be built without a drain and a proper water-closet or privy, (for the absence of which they can inflict penalties of £50. and £20. respectively); to require the owner or occupier of any house, the state of which may have been certified by an officer of health, or by two medical practitioners, to be dangerous to health, to cleanse it, and if he neglect to do so, to fine him 10s. a-day till he obeys the order; and to

keep a register of, and fix the number of lodgers that may be accommodated in all common public lodging-houses." The permissive powers to be exercised by them, are those of providing slaughter-houses, and of prohibiting the establishment of offensive trades—such as blood, bone, and soap-boilers, &c.—of compelling the paving, sewerage, &c., of private streets; of removing gas and water pipes; of causing any new street, laid out contrary to their orders with respect to the level and width, to be altered in such manner as the case may require; of purchasing premises for the purpose of improving the public streets; of providing places of recreation for the public; of providing a supply of water (every one will concur with us in regretting that this was not made compulsory); of furnishing water to, and levying rates on, any house that may not have a sufficient supply, in case the owner should neglect to obtain such supply on being required to do so by the local board; and of preparing rooms or other premises for the reception of dead bodies, in order to prevent the evils arising from their retention in the dwellings of the poor.

To require corporate bodies to exercise such simple and necessary powers as the majority of them use, and to see that official selfishness or neglect did not neutralise these good provisions of the bill, cannot surely be deemed a very arbitrary enactment. The duty of investigating the conduct of local bodies was to devolve on the inspectors, of whom we have already spoken; they were also to have the power of preparing, at the expense of the town, plans for the draining, cleansing, &c., of any town visited by them, and for this purpose might, after twenty-four hours' notice, enter any land they please. No doubt the somewhat extensive powers proposed to be intrusted to these inspectors, caused much of the opposition which the original bill encountered. Their visits could not fail to be *inopportune* wherever corporate bodies or individuals have neglected their duties; but so are the visits of the police to the haunts of thieves, and of excisemen to illicit distilleries. And as the honest man and legitimate trader overlook the inconveniences of such visits for the sake of the general good arising from the operation of the police and excise laws, we do think the model corporation and the perfect individual, who require no supervision to urge them to the fulfilment of their duty, might have with equal magnanimity forgiven any unnecessary interference to which the

operation of this clause might have subjected them. But as this argument would only have strength with those who do their duty, and as present appearances do not warrant the conclusion that these are a *large* number, another and more effectual mode of overcoming the objection made to these arbitrary visits might have been resorted to; and that was, by appealing (paradoxical though it may appear) to the very selfishness which dictates the objection against it. We suspect the firmest opponent of interference with the privacy of home—"the Englishman's castle"—is not prepared to put up with the consequences which would follow from his neighbour's being permitted still to render his *castle* such a focus of fever and pestilence as that described by Mr. Howell. However obstinately he might contend for the right of endangering his own health in his own house, he would be the first to impugn his neighbour's right to do so. These considerations, we submit, would have reconciled those who are really anxious for sanatory reform, to the intrusion and inconvenience that might, in some instances, attend the operation of the clause which authorized the visits, particularly if they called to mind the impossibility of doing away with the present most vicious system without some stringent measures.

The wholesale extinction of local acts and commissions, contemplated in the first bill, whenever they clashed with its provisions, was perhaps not the most trifling amongst the causes of its unpopularity; but the absolute necessity for uniformity of management in towns where different bodies now possess jurisdiction over different but adjoining districts, rendered the clauses abolishing these distinct, and frequently hostile bodies, almost indispensable; and we much regret that the omission of them is one of the *amendments* on the original Health of Towns Bill that has been carried.

There is another *amendment*, however, which we regret even more, and that is, that the supply of a sufficient quantity of water, which was compulsory on the local boards by the first bill, is now only optional. The abandonment of this, and another clause requiring the purchase of all existing waterworks by the local boards, previous to the erection of new works by them, appears to us the most unfortunate of all the concessions made by the ministry. Without a plentiful supply of water, no amount of sanatory

regulations or precautions can be thoroughly effective; and we imagine that few of our readers will contend that the present supply is sufficient. Indeed, they would most probably say, that the sooner the present system is abolished the better. Besides, the proposed terms of purchase (the average market price during two years, if not less than twenty-five years' purchase of the income) were so very fair, that they must have met with general approbation. They neither exhibited that over sensitive, or rather, partial regard for the extreme rights of the few, which entirely overlooks the simplest rights of the many; nor that unscrupulous and wanton disregard of the just rights of the enterprising few, which would inevitably produce such distrust in all speculative improvements, that all enterprise would be destroyed, and the object in view—the good of the many—thus defeated. And with respect to the heavy expense in which this purchase would involve towns, whose water companies are realising large profits, and which might be supposed by some to be absolutely ruinous, we have to remark, that the purchase money given for the water-works, however high it might be, would only be the sum required to redeem in perpetuity that portion of the water rates which is charged by the water company over and above the sum that would repay their expenses, and also the value of their works, mains, &c. To make this more evident, we will suppose such a case as the following. A town is supplied with water by a company whose capital is £100,000, whose profits are 20 per cent, and whose £100 shares are worth £500, the town must of course give the enormous sum of £500,000 for the works; but it would thus redeem for ever the annual charge of £20,000, and possess all the works of the company. If we take the market value of money at four per cent, we shall find that the town would be in exactly the same position financially, whether it purchase the works or not; with this very important advantage on the side of the purchase, however, that for a very slight increase of expenditure, a constant and unlimited supply of water might be substituted for the present intermittent and wretchedly inadequate supply. Even under the new Act this may be done, and we trust in this age of enormous wealth and boasted liberality, the wealthier classes will eagerly embrace such an opportunity of conferring an immense boon on their poorer brethren, especially when they consider that the purity as well as the quantity

of the water depends on the adoption of the new system, the water being often totally unfit for use in consequence of the necessity of keeping it in rotten barrels or filthy tanks.

It will be observed that this is the only case in which we have appealed to the charitable feelings of our readers. We have not done so on other occasions, because we thought the facts that we have detailed would be sufficiently convincing to enlist the sympathies of every philanthropist in favour of the measure, without any appeal from us; and with those who could remain unmoved by them, we feared that anything we could say would have but little weight. We therefore preferred to use the weapons which they would probably employ themselves. We have also but slightly alluded to the higher advantages which may be hoped from attention to the cause we advocate; but surely there is no one who has even but little studied the moral condition of our poor, who is not convinced how constantly external purity is the index to purity of conduct, and how certainly, in the opposite case, habits of disorder and uncleanness lead ultimately to habits of vice.

Before we conclude, we must briefly notice two or three omissions, common alike to the Health of Towns *Bill* and the Public Health *Act*, concerning matters with which, though of great importance, it could scarcely be expected with justice that a single measure should deal, and to one of which in particular—the *window-tax*, which has been so aptly termed a tax on *virtue*—no one who knows the Chancellor of the Exchequer's peculiar sensitiveness to anything that affects the revenue, could have anticipated any reference. Our readers will not perhaps have suspected, that the exclusion of the metropolis from the act is one of the omissions which we have stated to be, in our opinion, not unreasonable. Our reasons for this we shall give below. With respect to burial-grounds and slaughter-houses (the omissions to which we have referred) it will be readily confessed the Act is very deficient, when we state that the only power conferred by it, is that of closing the former when certified to be dangerous to health, and of keeping a register of the latter.

In the case of burial grounds and slaughter-houses in towns, there are no considerations of revenue to hinder their abolition; but then, there is that almost insuperable obstacle, *vested interests*, to contend with. So completely

does the injustice of interfering with *pecuniary vested interests* always absorb men's ideas of justice, that it never seems to enter their minds that the poor, at whose expense these interests are generally supported, can by any possibility possess *moral-vested interests*, or rather *rights*. Even on occasions where the highest interests of human beings are concerned—those of eternity—we see them constantly sacrificed to vested temporal interests. The spiritual destitution of the large towns of England is acknowledged by all; yet, when the ecclesiastical commission recommended that the income of the majority of the bishops should be *reduced* to £4,000 or £5,000 a-year, and all pluralities abolished, not a hint was given that it was desirable the alterations should take place immediately. No; *vested interests* must be respected; and though thousands meantime might be swept off, ignorant of all religion, the *thousands* of the bishops must be held sacred from interference. We consider the present a parallel case, (of far less importance, of course), with this exception, that we do not demand the sacrifice of any vested interests, without adequate compensation. We are averse to their confiscation, fully as much on grounds of policy as of justice. Many of the vested interests at present standing in the way of sanatory improvements, were originally created by the privileges granted to bodies whose works were of great public utility, such as gas-works and water-works. The arbitrary confiscation of works like these would eventually lead to such universal distrust, and act as such an incubus upon enterprise, as would far more than counterbalance any temporary benefits that might be experienced from it. Whilst, therefore, we disclaim all sympathy with those who would unhesitatingly sacrifice the rights of the few to those of the many, we must earnestly request our readers to reflect, whether the poor have not as strong vested rights to life and health, as the proprietors of burial grounds and slaughter-houses have to their property, and whether some sacrifice might not be made by the wealthy to rid our large towns of these nuisances. By the abolition of interment in towns, and by taking such measures as would prevent noxious exhalations from the old burial grounds, we might convert a source of disease into a means of health, burial grounds being necessarily open spots. With regard to slaughter-houses, so much more fruitful in disease, and so much more numerous than burial grounds,

we beg to offer a suggestion which has occurred to us, and which, if carried into effect, would, we think, neutralise the evils arising from them, at the same time that it would facilitate the establishment of baths and wash-houses. Our plan is, that the basements of these establishments should be employed as slaughter-houses, and the first floors be devoted to the baths; by this means, the cost of the sites, (so heavy in large towns), would be divided between them; the amount of the profit would be doubled; the immense quantity of water consumed in the baths above could be employed to deluge the slaughter-houses below; and the quantity of hides, offal, &c., would be so great, from the number of animals killed, as to render it profitable to remove them daily, thus preventing putrefaction from taking place before removal.

In conclusion, we must observe that our reason for not considering the exemption of the metropolis from the new Act as unreasonable, that a city containing an eighth of the population of England and Wales may fairly claim to have a special act, instead of being included in a general one. Besides, much has been done in London during the last year\* in constructing spacious sewers; and the consolidation, of sewerage commissions which the government has already effected, and the activity and energy which it has displayed in carrying out the ordnance survey of London, now in progress, give us confidence in its promises, that the metropolis shall not escape.

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ART. VI.—*Travels in Siberia: including Excursions Northwards, down the Obi, to the Polar Circle; and Southwards, to the Chinese Frontier.* By ADOLF ERMAN. Translated from the German by WILLIAM DESBOROUGH COOLEY. In two volumes. London: Longman and Co., 1848.

**F**EW pleasant associations are connected with Siberia. The world in general regards it as a region of ice and snow, barren plains, bleak hills, and interminable forests.

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\* Messrs. Brunel and Walker, in their late report on the state of the city sewerage, say, that during the last ten years, a greater extent of sewerage has been constructed than in the previous one hundred and thirty, and that there are now but three miles of street, out of fifty, without sewers.

When the English reader directs his attention towards the vast tracts of country which stretch between Russia and the further east, he is apt immediately to conjure up pictures of long winters, and scorching, but brief summers, whose duration barely serves but to render more bitterly felt the gloom of the succeeding seasons. But in dwelling on the melancholy features of Siberia, on its desert forests, its naked plains, its snowy valleys, its pine-clothed mountains, its dreary towns, cities, and fortresses, its communities of exiles, and the thankless servitude everywhere apparent, we should remember that a land so little favoured has not been abandoned to unproductiveness, nor been left utterly destitute of beauty. The woods and plains, whose dreary and unpeopled extent serves at first only to impress the imagination with the idea of gloom, furnish to the luxury of the surrounding nations those magnificent furs which pour wealth into the coffers of the hunter and the trader; the recesses of the mountains are rich in precious minerals and costly stones; while timber of noble quality may be obtained. During the summer months, too, a Siberian landscape offers not a few pleasant combinations of beauty, containing within itself most of those elements which go to the making up of a fine picture—green woods, plains covered with verdure, elaborately cultivated lands, busy towns, and quiet villages, while thickets of white and red roses, with flowers of many other species, and blossoming hedge rows, add a gentle loveliness to the scene, and form altogether a striking contrast to the desolate aspect of winter. But even during that icy season it would be difficult to find a more striking spectacle than that presented by the Siberian landscape, with its broad plains sheeted over with glittering snow, its clusters of houses capped with dazzling white, and its mountains rearing their wooded heads to the sky, while their slopes are covered with deep pure snow.

Still, while regarding these features of attraction, it is not unnatural that unpleasant associations should connect themselves with the name of Siberia. These, however, are not to be traced so much to natural as to artificial sources, which may be found in the dreary depths of Russian policy. This it is chiefly that has gained for Siberia so unwholesome a notoriety, which has rendered it a byword for all that is comfortless and miserable. So widely diffused is the feeling, that it is a fact known to all

who have directed their attention to the subject, that many regions far less accessible, and presenting far less inviting features, have been oftener visited, oftener described, and are oftener dwelt upon than Siberia. Seldom, indeed, were the travellers who have crossed its dreary districts prompted to their task by motives of curiosity and the thirst for adventure, so much as the desire of their governments to promote the ends of science. Expeditions have been set on foot, and their expenses defrayed by authority. Some of the members of those expeditions have clothed their experience, scientific as well as general, in language and given it to the world. Information has thus been diffused, which, had the public depended on the spirit of private enterprise, would have been slow in making its appearance. For instance, the able and interesting speculations of MM. Gmelin and Muller would never, in all probability, have enriched the stores of science, had not Anne of Austria, who has to be thanked for many such good works, dispatched them on an exploring expedition into Siberia. Many other travellers whom we could mention, would doubtless, had the choice been left them, have preferred undertaking to penetrate to the remotest sources of the White River, to hazarding the rigours of a Siberian winter. But the spirit of the nineteenth century has spread its influence even as far as those inclement regions, and we witness the slow progress of civilization, where formerly the races dwelling in close proximity to a powerful nation, skilled in all the arts of luxury, were raised but a few steps above the merest barbarians. Now, however, the case is somewhat altered, and we observe, even among the remotest hills of Siberia, indications of the fact, that no country presents a barrier impenetrable to the slow but sure advance of civilization.

The Norwegian government is distinguished by the honour of having enabled Professor Hansteen and Mr. Erman to prosecute their interesting researches into the heart of a country so little known. The object proposed was that of making a series of magnetical observations, which will, without doubt, hereafter prove of the utmost importance to science. Having by deep study prepared his mind for the reception of those varied and multiplied impressions likely to be made upon it in the course of such a journey, our traveller left Berlin on the 25th of April, 1828. In setting forth upon such an undertaking, it was fortunate that the expedition was accompanied by a

man whose mind had been moulded like that of Mr. Erman. He is not a mere observer and noter down of dry scientific details. His work shows evidence of the skill of an able writer, of the quickness of observation which is the invariable characteristic of genius, of the deep warm impulses of an enthusiastic traveller, who sojourns among strange people as one of themselves, and is prepared to meet difficulty and face danger in the pursuit of knowledge.

The poplars on the road side were in full leaf, the elder bushes were green, and the willows had burst into flower where our travellers set out from Berlin, a striking exemplification of the change of climate to be experienced during the course of so short a journey, for at Königsberg when the spring season had advanced eight days further, they found the willows with unbroken buds. Pursuing their route, with little interruption they reached St. Petersburg about the middle of May, and here they had to wait for Professor Hansteen and his party, who experiencing many difficulties by the way, did not arrive at the capital till about the twentieth of June, and the various preparations for a residence in Siberia occupied them until the eleventh of July. Mr. Erman, therefore, enjoyed an opportunity of observing much that was curious and characteristic in the Russian mode of life. He describes St. Petersburg as a superb city built in a style of almost barbaric magnificence, and among whose vast and varied population are to be discerned those inevitable results of a minute division of classes—jealousy, a species of caste feeling, and the consequent clash of opposing interests. An inordinate passion for luxury influences almost every aspect of Russian society—those stages of society at least which are in any degree elevated above the common order. While oppressing and treading down his humbler neighbour, the grandee of St. Petersburg thinks only of promoting his own well-being. He loves to live surrounded by all that is luxurious, all that wealth can procure, all that the ingenuity of an epicure can devise, and while he is seldom unwilling to lavish enormous sums upon those ministering to his individual pleasure, he will grind his immediate dependants almost to starvation, by compelling them to labour for his benefit at a rate of remuneration scarcely adequate to the support of a dog. In this view of the subject we are not supported by the authority of

Mr. Erman alone. Many other travellers have held the same position with us, though seldom have we felt an inclination to bestow greater credence either on the veracity or the judgment of any writer, than on the earnest and vigorous strictures of the present author. His assertions bear on their face the stamp of truth. He does not paint his pictures in exaggerated colours. While his delineations of Russian character are warm and vivid, there is yet to be observed about them a sober tone which at once stands witness for the truthfulness of the remarks. It requires little quickness of perception, however, to be enabled to see through the mask of politeness, frigid and formal as it is, that conceals from the cursory glance that turbid undercurrent of jealousy and dislike which rolls through the deep channels of Russian society. The wealthy and powerful veil their feelings beneath a cloak of hypocrisy, apparently so deceptive to some travellers, that we have heard the gentry of St. Petersburg characterized as people of splendid manners, who, while they feel the most ardent friendship for each other, yet restrain their warm impulses lest these should betray them into a breach of good breeding. But the grandees of Russia, as is known to all keensighted observers, make use of their delicate etiquette for far different purposes. The individuals who might be seen smiling and exchanging looks apparently big with the cordiality of friendship, would perhaps be gratified by nothing so much as by the downfall of any one amongst them, whose misfortunes might bring with them any degree of advantage to the rest. The humbler grades, on the other hand, not daring to expose their hatred of the ruling classes, conceal it under the disguise of servility, and in this manner does the society of St. Petersburg preserve a balance which would otherwise be lost, and the whole mass thus precipitated in confusion.

But our present purpose is with Siberia. We must therefore hasten on and accompany the expedition without a pause as far as Valdai, which it reached on the 14th of July. A number of women bearing an offering of wheat cakes came forth to meet the travellers, who, bestowing a kiss upon each of the ancient dames, proceeded to take up their quarters in the town. Thence they travelled to Yedrovo, where a marked change appeared in the aspect of the country, which suddenly losing its elevated and woody character, sinks abruptly, and presents the

appearance of a vast sloping plain strewed at intervals with fragments of lime-stone rock. The forests disappear, and are superseded by vegetation of a scantier and humbler kind, while the ground becomes marshy and altogether less fitted for transit of any species. Wooden high-ways now take the place of the stone-paved roads. They are more adapted to the nature of the country, and exhibit much ingenuity in their construction. The trunks of huge trees are smoothed by the axe and placed longitudinally upon the earth; and the interstices are filled with a composition of clay and leaves. The snows of winter render these wooden roads level and smooth, so that carriages may travel over them with much rapidity. The 19th of July saw Mr. Erman and his companions at Moscow, where they made some stay, and it was not until the first week in August that the church-towers of Nijnei Novrogod appeared against the horizon.

At the time our travellers entered this famous town, all its inhabitants had thronged to the great annual fair which gives to Nijnei Novrogod so much of importance as a commercial emporium. A strange variety of costumes and dialects marked the mixture of races. Wares of all kinds were exposed for sale—the elegant bijouterie of the French modiste, the obrasa or Greek holy images, not to be sold for money, but to be bartered for other goods, the cotton and shawls of Bokhara, the teas of China, the peltry and leather of the Tatars, with other materials of commerce of which it would be difficult to offer an enumeration. Immense ranges of buildings serve as warehouses and shops, and the stone paved-ways between these are covered with a various throng of busy buyers and sellers, all intent on the one great object, that of exchanging their wares for money, or of laying out with advantage their hard-earned roubles.

The great fair of Nijnei Novrogod adds, of itself, not a little to the prosperity of the Russian empire. The enormous revenue derived from the lease or sale of warehouses, the amounts charged on the entry of goods, tend to enrich the public treasury, while the immense sums thrown into circulation by the countless traders who frequent this famous national market, spread a wide circle of prosperity round the city. One circumstance which contributes to give to Nijnei Novrogod a high degree of importance, is its advantageous position on the banks of the Volga, whose

noble stream annually bears the burden of many thousands of boats laden with corn and the merchandize of Siberia, and other still more abundant regions. The lands surrounding the town, too, are abundantly irrigated and susceptible of elaborate cultivation.

Fifty-three versts beyond Novrogod Mr. Erman observed the first fort built for the temporary reception of those unhappy exiles whom the severity of Russian law has doomed to a life of misery in the remotest regions of Siberia. The Czar is far too politic to allow these miserable men to congregate at his capital, and there to march in melancholy procession for their cheerless destination. This would expose to the world in too glaring a light the policy which consigns every dangerous or suspected individual to an exile as hopeless as it is wretched. It is, therefore, the plan to seize the proscribed person in secret, to convey him to prison; and, at the dead of night to hurry him from the city under a strong guard to some distant out post. Thence he is marched by a circuitous route to Novrogod, and thence to Polänia, where, for the first time he meets those who are to be his companions during the remainder of that melancholy journey.

"We saw the convicts condemned to exile provided here, generally speaking, who were about to start on their march, with uniform linen at the public charge. With every train of them are several waggons drawn by post horses, to carry the women and the old and infirm men; the rest follow in pairs in a long train, escorted by a militia established in the villages. It is but rarely that one sees especial offenders with fetters on their legs during their march."

Passing through a variety of scenery, and bivouacking among a diversity of wild and strange tribes, the expedition arrived at Kasan, a city whose historic recollections are far from being devoid of interest. Having long stood proud and confident in the strength of its fortifications, it fell in 1522 before the might of the Russian arms. The manner in which the town was taken is related at length in the chronicles. The Czar Joan Vasilievich crossed the Volga with a numerous army, and at once marched upon Kasan. As he approached the town his forces had to sustain a brisk cannonade from the walls, while thirty thousand Tatars, who were lying in ambush along the road fell upon them. Notwithstanding all resistance, however;

the Czar pushed the siege vigorously. His army fought for forty days, doubtful of the result. They seized numerous prisoners, and binding them to palisades, advanced them in front of the assaulting army, in the hope of thus inducing the besieged to surrender. But the beleaguered townsmen were not thus to be turned from their duty. As their captive brethren approached they relentlessly fired upon them, crying out at the same time, "No citizen of Kasan will outlive his freedom." At length, through the skill and ingenuity of an experienced engineer, three mines were carried into the heart of the city: the hostile army entered, and though compelled to fight their way inch by inch, swept the streets of their defenders, and thus for ever crushed the independence of Kasan.

Without the town stands a Tatar mosque. Mr. Erman paints in vivid colours the scene presented to his view on entering the house of worship.

"We were introduced first into a wide quadrangular hall; along the walls are placed rows of tall grave-stones, dug up in the vicinity, and set up here to perpetuate the memory of some saints. The Tatars, as they came in, stood for a little time in silent prayer before these stones. Each left his shoes at the door of the circular hall adjoining, and proceeded barefooted to its eastern wall, where he squatted down with his legs under him on the mats which cover the floor of this extremely simple and unadorned edifice. The people thus forming a semicircle facing the west, sat as motionless as statues, which they resembled the more on account of their white clothing, the narrow windows giving entrance to only a few faint rays of the evening light. The priest, in the mean time, had seated himself on the ground at the western side of the hall; and, with his face to the congregation he now began to read verses from the Koran in a chanting sonorous voice, and with rhythmical cadence. When the verses were read the hearers bowed their heads to the ground, and a dead silence ensued during the silent prayer. Readings and pauses were in this way repeated several times, until at the conclusion of a prayer the priest rose, and addressing our guides, begged us to leave the Mesjid, as the presence of unbelievers could not be allowed during the rest of the service."

From Kasan Mr. Erman proceeded on his journey towards the Ural range. Now the road lay through shady forests, now along gentle slopes rich with the promise of corn crops. The temperature underwent a rapid change, a difference appeared in the manners, habits, and costume of the population, while several phenomena in the geologi-

cal formation of the land gave evidence of the approach to a new climate. At Votka our traveller made himself acquainted with several curious facts connected with the early history and progress of that flourishing settlement, while he also furnishes us with an interesting though brief biographical sketch of the famous Sobakin, whose career forms one of the most striking instances of how much perseverance may effect, even against the powerful obstacles, poverty and an obscure fortune. Thence the party journeyed on until about the latter end of August they commenced the ascent of the Ural mountain, which may be considered as forming the proper boundary of Siberia. Many valuable scientific observations were made, much new information obtained. We regret that space will not allow us to enter into all the novel details connected with this portion of the journey, which, lying as it did through a region so extraordinary, cannot fail to fill the reader's mind with interest. It is not for the bare facts related that these chapters are alone rendered important. To those who peruse them carefully they are full of suggestiveness; they create ideas in the imagination; while dwelling on the characteristics of the country, we are involuntarily led to consider its past history, obscure and imperfectly recorded as it is. The quaint, but extremely glowing and forcible language of Milton is recalled to us; we compare the language of the two writers; we sympathize with the traveller in his yearning to penetrate the regions bordering the Obi, and by degrees the conviction grows upon the mind that those districts of the world which former speculators have rendered so distasteful to the popular imagination, present each and all of them, not even excepting those lying beyond the limits of tillage, countless features worthy of attention and admirably calculated to awaken thoughts by no means unpleasant.

Having bade adieu to the slopes of the Ural, and descended upon the level plains of Siberia, Mr. Erman entered upon a region covered with monotonous gloomy woods, composed for the most part of valuable trees, among which the indigenous cedar holds no mean position. Several extraordinary phenomena were observed. Among the circumstances it was noticed that the cedar mentioned, and which here flourishes at an elevation of but 800 feet above the level of the sea, belongs to the same family which is found on the Swiss Alp summits, which pierce

the air to the height of 7000 feet. The similitude of soil and climate which is observable in two countries so widely separated is very remarkable. One difference, however, exists. In the last named regions the prevalence of drying winds causes much uneasiness, tending as it does to prevent the decomposition of vegetable matter, so essentially requisite to the preservation of a valuable soil. On the Siberian plains no such winds prevail, a fact which argues for the future fertility of these provinces, since the resources of the land have never hitherto been exhausted, or even developed to any stage near their full maturity. The result is, that the rich qualities of the ground increase in proportion as time progresses. The huge forests which cover the land show at once the fertility, and the desolate state of the country, which is equal to the support of many thousands of inhabitants, is only taxed to nourish those mighty woods, which flourish and live their day, then wither, totter, fall, and crumble into dust, thus serving alone to add to the fertility of the earth from which they took their origin. Population was but thinly scattered over these districts. During a day's journey, Mr. Erman mentions meeting with but one man, a Russian shepherd on horseback, tending his flock of horned sheep.

A rapid change was now observable in the face of the country which rose suddenly, while the earth was found to be strongly impregnated with mineral matter. At Tagilsk they saw those immense iron and copper mines, whose produce forms so large a portion of the wealth of that district. Beyond this place, a range of elevated land running parallel with the Ural was traversed, the village of Laya passed through, and Kushva entered. This is a cluster of dwellings pleasantly situate among rocky heights. Detached masses of stone rise to a great elevation, and deep valleys run between the several formations, dividing them from each other, as for example, the crystalline green stone from the iron.

After having pushed their researches some distance in a northerly direction, the travellers retraced their track to Yekaterinburgh, a town of some importance, which they had passed on their way from the Ural range. The nature of the climate near this place, and the brief duration of the summer season, may be imagined from the fact, that the willows on the road-side leading to it had only just put forth their blossoms, so that time would scarcely be allowed

them to bloom in full maturity ere the snows of winter would nip every flower in the land.

The description which Mr. Erman gives of the manner in which the inhabitants of Beresov spend their winter evenings is characteristic.

"We saw several flocks of white geese on the Shartash, preparing for their winter flight, and some had already passed us, all going south-west. Winter life had now begun, too, with the human denizens of the place, for the *Posidentie*,\* or evening meetings of the young women of the poorer ranks, had already been established at Beresov and the surrounding villages. As soon as the darkness interrupts out-door labours, the men come and enjoy themselves in the warm houses. They mount up to their sleeping places on the broad top of the stove, and scarcely leave it during the evening, till they are obliged to attend to their cattle a little before midnight. For the sake of economising light, the young girls meet at the house of some of the wealthier boors, partly to work, and partly to amuse themselves with their friends. Their occupations, and the songs and tales with which it is accompanied, reminds one of the primitive German spinning-rooms. In one of their popular songs the maidens are made to complain of the bad light given by their pine torch, and accuse their host of having wetted it to get rid of his visitors; when one of their companions confesses it was a stratagem of hers to get an excuse for stealing off to her lover."

Shortly afterwards Mr. Erman was witness to the grand festival of the lifting up of the cross. Bread, baked in the form of the cross, and consecrated with every holy rite, was distributed among the people, while religious processions formed of the nuns inhabiting the convent of the Mother of God, passed solemnly along the public way. The number of nuns in Russia is far beneath that of the monks, of whom there are six thousand in the whole empire, while the nuns do not exceed one thousand. This result is readily to be traced to its source. A secular priest, when his wife dies, is either compelled to retire altogether from office, or to enter some monastic order.

In the course of his descriptions of the manners and modes of life prevailing among the Bashkirs, Mr. Erman presents us with several curious delineations of Siberian society, if we may so term it. This is the only aboriginal tribe which exhibits the interesting phenomenon of an existence regularly alternating from the fixed to the wander-

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\* From *Posidete*, to sit, Russ.

ing. During the winter they take up their residence in a permanent village on the borders of some forest, where the dense foliage shields them in some measure from the cutting blasts which blow so severely from the mountains. To be provident forms no portion of the Bashkir list of virtues. While the plains are rich with grass and other crops, he revels in all the bountiful gifts that nature spreads out for his use, and his cattle fatten in those superb pastures which abound in the neighbourhood of Yekaterinburg. But when the cold season returns, the herds and flocks must be content to feed on the poor stunted herbage that appears at intervals through the trodden snow, where the wind lays bare a patch of grass. Thus is the winter passed, the beast and his master feeding alike. The spring season, however, brings with it a return of the simple pleasures of pastoral life. The Bashkirs mount their horses, strap their hard cloth tent-covering to the saddles, and wander forth in the green plains, where a whole tribe, though the division into families is constantly observed, pitches its tents in military order on some chosen spots selected at random, while the herds wander at will over plains where the grass often rises above the saddlegirth. This life lasts till the gloomy days of winter set in again, when the same routine is observed, and the Bashkirs settle down in their forest villages. Herodotus describes these people as continually dwelling under trees, which they cover during the winter months with a tent-cloth; but from Mr. Erman's account we should be led to infer that the ancient historians omitted to mention that a tent-pole stood under the tree, for we find no mention of their throwing tent-cloths over the branches, which, however, would certainly form a capacious tent, calculated to screen a numerous family from the severities of nights. So deeply rooted is the preference of the Bashkir tribes for the nomadic life, that when winter comes round and compels them to retreat within their cramped and confined village residences, they prolong their homeward journey to the greatest possible degree. When arrived near the huts, the women are sent forward with noisy exorcisms to drive the Shaitan, or devil, from within. They strike the doors with staves, utter the loudest vociferations, and abjure the spirits to abandon their unjust empire. Then the men ride forward with a furious speed, and shout and shake their arms to give the

final stroke of victory, after which the doors are opened and winter life commences.

But we linger too long over this portion of Mr. Erman's narrative. On the first of October he recommenced his journey, and towards evening passed several villages, where lighted splints of the pine-tree were visible to a considerable distance. Every trace of harvest had disappeared, and the naked branches of the birch bore too striking evidence of the approach of winter. Still, the meadows appeared brilliantly green, and it was not until after our travellers crossed the Irtuish on the 7th, that the first fall of snow commenced the "white season." This river is regarded by the Russian exiles almost in the same light as the grave; for having once passed its broad yellow flood, hopes die within them, and they are considered as consigned to political and civil death. Yet that which is big with the misery of some, enjoys a high degree of importance in the minds of others. The officer who is bold enough to volunteer his services beyond the Irtuish, the Stygian lake of Russia, is sure of a step in rank, and as three years form the period allotted for them to serve in those cheerless regions, numerous are the competitions for the promised advantage. At the market-place of Tobolsk travellers often provide themselves with the heavy fur garments necessary, in order to enable them to endure the severity of the winter. From the warm, though cheap hare-skin, to the light skin of the young bear, every species of fur is piled up to tempt the eye. But, in the present instance the Gostinoidor of Kasan had been the chosen market place, and Mr. Erman passed by the rare display offered to his gaze at Tobolsk, a town of some importance, inhabited by a moderate population, who carry on a large and lucrative traffic with many surrounding nations. It is not only through the legitimate processes of trade, however, that the merchants of Tobolsk acquire wealth; they often buy children from their parents, to sell beyond the frontiers, and where they cannot buy they kidnap.

"The conversation of a Kirgis belonging to our host, and who was a constant companion of our nocturnal trips in the sledge, contributed not a little to amuse us. He told us how, when a lad of sixteen—and boding no good—he was enticed by his father from the steppe to the Siberian frontiers, and was there handed over to some Russian merchants in discharge of a debt of 180 roubles. He tra-

velled with his new master to Tomsk, and being dismissed from thence, he entered immediately into the service of his present owner. The only tidings he had since received from home were, that his unnatural father had met with the punishment due to perfidy, being killed by some Russians with whom he had quarrelled. Perhaps for the sake of the appearance of revenging himself on fate, the otherwise good-natured man related with rare glee, how he too had renounced the children whom he had reared at Tobolsk from his marriage, and had given them in servitude to other Russians."

Two practices prevail among the Kirgis, than which scarcely anything can be conceived more characteristic of a barbarian state of society. Having kidnapped a Russian, it is a difficult thing to secure themselves from the chance of his running away; the plan adopted is to knock the captive on the side of the head in such a manner as to deaden his intellect, and thus render him less capable of effecting his escape. Long and continual practice in this art, has rendered the Kirgis adepts at it. But the Russian, though the power to escape is thus, in a great measure, taken from him, still retains his national aptitude. He is by habit a pedestrian, and will not mount a horse unless compelled to do so. The Kirgis, on the contrary, are so constantly on horseback, that they may almost be described as living in the saddle. To overcome the prejudices of their bondsmen would be considered as too difficult a task by these barbarians. They therefore pursue the plan of cutting a deep flesh wound in the heel of the unfortunate captive, into which they rest a twist of horsehair. This operation causes indescribable agony to the sufferer, who is at first absolutely compelled to ride, and is ever after incapacitated from moving freely, save on horseback.

We cannot pause to accompany Mr. Erman through his interesting description of the various ceremonies and rites which vary the monotony of Siberian existence. In the course of his great experience, he enjoyed ample opportunity for observing all those varied and extraordinary features of society, everywhere apparent among the races who came under our traveller's eye. Beyond Tobolsk, it was necessary to make use of sledges instead of the European vehicle in which they had hitherto performed the journey. We now find Mr. Erman gliding with immense rapidity across a frozen arm of the Irtysh, along snowy roads,

over ploughed fields, and again across extensive plains, until he arrived at the village of Kosheleva, a village situated on the banks of an inlet from the main stream :—

“A row of wooden houses, erected between the eastern margin of this piece of water and the steep hills enclosing it, which are adorned with tall fir-trees, looking beautifully green in the midst of the snow. \* \* \* Since morning, the temperature had risen, with a clouded sky; large flakes of snow were now falling, and the wind breaking among the hills, occasioned a violent whirling. Nevertheless, the people of the village, active and hearty, were busily employed in the open air. A number of men were cutting holes in the ice to let down their hooks. Others, men and women, were looking after the horses for our conveyance. They had vigorous figures and blooming faces, and we heard nothing from them but jokes and laughing exclamations.”

The travellers now proceeded over alternate sheets of ice and snow, towards Demyansk. Beyond this place, the road lay through lofty hills, crowned with fir forests, and composed of a loose rich mould. It was night when the party traversed this portion of the country. The moon had risen, and flung her bright beams over the hill tops, across the beaten highway. Far to the left, appeared the high mountains, bright with snow, and glittering in the rays of the moon; while far in the distance could be observed tall dark forests nodding beneath a gentle wind. The sharp ringing of the horses' hoofs upon the hard snow, was the only sound that disturbed the all-pervading silence of the night. An extraordinary phenomenon appeared in the sky, in the shape of a white arch of immense extent, above which towered several other fragmentary arches, each surrounded by a bright halo.

On the 27th November, Mr. Erman and his companions arrived at an Ostyak settlement. Here they witnessed the primeval simplicity of an aboriginal tribe. Ten huts stood on the eastern side of a large river island. The roofs were heaped up with earth, and between each habitation grew a number of thick bushes, which must have caused the place to look extremely picturesque in summer. Each dwelling was divided by a number of partitions, each of which opened towards the centre, where a large bright fire continually kept the atmosphere warm.

“The thick woods of the neighbourhood abound in the better kinds of fur animals, so that every one gets without much trouble

the two sable skins required from each family as *yasak*, or tribute to the Russians; and it is seldom found necessary to pay an equivalent in other skins. Our host showed us a fine sable skin got already this winter, which he kept in a strong box like a treasure, which he kept in a corner of the yurt. The value of this skin was diminished by a bright, almost yellow colour of the fur, which the people ascribed to the circumstance of the animal living in a wood where there was too much light. There was much anxiety evinced respecting the hunting and trapping of this year; as a fire in the woods had driven the sables away from the Kevaskian yurts. Accidents of this kind are unfortunately not rare on the banks of the Obi; for of the superb pine forests, which constitute at once the ornaments and riches of the place, tracts of from thirty to forty miles have been often seen on fire in summer. It is not improbable that the mischief is often caused by the fires of wandering hunters, and that the hand of man first propagates the destructive element, which it is unable afterwards to check in its progress. Nothing stops the fire in such cases, but a good fall of rain; but in the meantime the desolation which it has produced is total and irremediable. In the burnt woods there spring up, in place of the majestic store pines, only birches and aspens."

From Kevashinsk our travellers proceeded to the picturesque Sosnovian yurts; thence along the ice-covered Obi, past several other Siberian communities, to the convent of Konsdinsk, built at the bottom of a steep bank on the verge of a broad naked plain. Still further on, they visited many Siberian villages, and some miles more brought them under the influence of a milder temperature, where they met with unfrozen springs and deliciously pure water. The route now lay through those mighty woods, among whose recesses the ermine is hunted and entrapped. The dog is the chief means employed to drive this animal, so valuable for its fur, into the trap laid for it in some chosen spot in the forest. The winter yurts of Taginsk were next reached. Here our travellers first yoked the reindeers to their sledges. Some delay was unavoidably occasioned by the circumstance, that these willing animals are not confined in any given place when not required for draught, but are allowed to stray at liberty to the most distant portions of the woods. Mr. Erman, therefore, while his companions sought the salutary rest afforded by couches of reindeer skin, which had been spread for them by the hospitable yurt-dwellers, occupied himself with observing the picturesque scene presented. Numerous black huts were sprinkled over a wide glade in the middle

of the forest. A huge bright fire sparkled in the centre, and round it were clustered a group of men, who, naked to the waist, were endeavouring to thoroughly warm themselves before retiring to sleep. Presently a loud clattering noise was heard, and the reindeers were seen galloping towards the yurts from all points of the wood, now hidden by the trees, and now revealed as their graceful forms bounded over the snow. Their drivers followed, uttering a peculiar cry, and in a few moments the timid but docile creatures, were standing in a circle close to the huts, ready for the yoke.

At three o'clock in the morning they started, traversed eighty versts of snowy country, then shot along over the ice, close under the woody bank of the Obi, and, after a short stay at the yurts of Kachegatsk, proceeded rapidly in a northerly direction towards the Polar circle, now only eighty-four miles distant. The fertile qualities of the soil of this portion of the country, triumphed even over the severity of the season. Trees of magnificent foliage grew abundantly on the banks of the stream, while garden vegetables, green hedgerows, and roses, gave evidence of the luxuriant richness of the earth. Travelling further along the Obi, under a gentle fall of snow, the traveller arrived towards evening at the winter tents of Keegat, where they were forcibly reminded of their bivouac at Taginsk.

"In the middle of the tent was a blazing fire. All the men were sitting on skins, with the upper part of their bodies bare, and their backs against the hair of the tent covering. A little boy of four years old, had nothing on but drawers; and a little child lay in a canoe-shaped cradle of reindeer skin. Two women, of middle age, were also sitting on the ground, with all their usual clothing, and they were wrapped up even below the shoulders with the veiling head dress, which was here made of Russian woollen stuff. With great coyness they refused to show us their faces, and when I pulled up, playfully, the veil of one, she replaced it at once, and cried out lustily; yet the men, who were present, and witnessed what was going on, took so little notice of it, and seemed so indifferent, that it can hardly be said that jealousy of strangers has here given rise to the practice of veiling."

After the usual preparatory arrangements, melting snow to boil the fish, and spreading skins to rest on, Mr. Erman and his party sought their rest, and passed in the rude winter tents of Keegat, a night as comfortable as though

they slept in the warm dwellings which the luxury of the western world has provided for the indolence of man. Short time for sleep, however, was allowed. The winter days in this rude region, seldom lasting for above three or four hours, it was necessary to travel through darkness as in daylight. The sun was never visible through the dull grey clouds that constantly hang beneath the sky, occasionally letting fall their snowy burden to wrap the whole land in its cold embrace. Under these auspices was the journey continued, until on the 8th of December they reached the hills of Obsdorsk, where the town of that name stands. It was a cheering thing, after long travels through so desolate a country, to meet here, in the remotest north, with many of the distinguishing characteristics of civilization. Huge ovens were filled with bread, while whole stacks of loaves rose from the floor to the ceiling in many of the houses, which were scattered picturesquely over the hills. A wooden church imparted a tone of quiet serenity to the scene; while the dense columns of smoke, rising in straight lines through the still atmosphere, lent it the air of comfort and peace. Just above the horizon the long-hidden sun shed its rays over the snowy landscape, and a bright blue sky reared its arch over the whole. In the distance, a long chain of mountains, presenting the singular appearance of blue eminences, traced over with glittering threads of snow, could be observed; while along the ice-covered Obi, moved the long trains of sledges driven by the rudely attired Ostyaks. A great fair is annually held at Obsdorsk, and thither flock the Russians to purchase ivory, peltry, and reindeer skins; the dwellers on the mossy plains to the eastward, the Samoyedes from beyond the mountains, and the fishing tribes who find a home on the sea-coasts. To them the Ostyaks and the Samoyedes races of the neighbourhood, dispose of their merchandise at advantageous rates, and thus the place is invested with importance. The latter named people contribute the larger portions of the skins of the Polar bear, sold in the market. Much singular information is given concerning the habits of these beasts, which, did space allow, we should willingly extract. But, did we endeavour to condense all the interesting matter furnished by the present volumes, we should exceed all ordinary limits. Passing, therefore, with this brief mention, the hunting dogs of the Ostyaks, the able discussion on languages which follows,

the speculation on the mixture and distribution of races, the description of religious rites, we come to the observations on the dogmas of Ostyak theology:—

“It might almost be assumed, that the religion of the Ostyaks, previous to their acquaintance with the Christians, was undergoing, independently, a process of complete purification; or else, (which is, indeed, far more likely), that this people had gradually fallen away from the health of a sound faith—to use the language of St. Augustine—to the sickness of Paganism; for it is an incontestible fact, singular as it may appear, that the Ostyaks, notwithstanding the imperfect development of their religious services, have yet some ideas of a Supreme Being; for, under the name of *Torum*, they venerate a god.”

But the Ostyaks also worship their dead friends, making to them offerings of food, and embracing a rude wooden image, which at the end of three years they inter, and bury apparently with it, all regrets for the death of him whom it represents. The Ostyaks venerate the black, and the Samoyedes the white bear, for they call it the strongest of God's creatures.

On the 12th of December, Mr. Erman, having determined on an excursion to the mountains, set off soon after sunrise with his companions, in sledges, along the ice of the *Polui*. The river lay between hills deeply cracked with frost. Crossing the ice of the *Obi*, they entered on a low plain, dotted with leafless larch trees, and clumps of willow bushes. One hour and a half's time brought with it sunset, when they reached the portable dwelling of a Samoyede family, on the point of being removed; the tent covering was taken off and slung with the poles on the long reindeer sledges. The men and women, closely packed, followed in others, and after them came a long train of unharnessed animals, bringing up the rear. After proceeding for some hours over an irregular country, they reached a spot which the drivers pronounced suitable for the bivouac. The reindeers were turned loose, a stem of larch was torn down and split up for fuel, the tent was pitched and well covered with skins, a fire kindled, and couches of soft fur spread. The women fetched in large masses of pure untrodden snow, which they melted, partly to drink and partly to boil their porridge with. After partaking of a humble meal, some of the men went out to tend the reindeer in the wood, while the rest of the party enjoyed the

cheering warmth of the fire. When all had thus comforted themselves, it was determined at once to sleep. Every one simultaneously wrapped his fur garments closely round his person, and stretching out beside the blazing heap in the centre, fell into slumber. The watchers in the forest came in and out at intervals, and were relieved. Early in the morning, preparations were made for starting. The young men of the Samoyede family were alone to accompany the European party to the mountains, while the others promised to await their return in the tent. The ascent of the hills was shortly commenced. All the wild and rugged elements of an Arctic landscape were presented in strange confusion. Lofty rocky ridges crossed and recrossed the slopes, stunted groves sprung up from uneven expanses of snowy ground, a frozen stream wound among the heights, and the occasional Samoyede tents gave life to the scene. Troops of wolves had, during the preceding night, come down from the mountains and destroyed several reindeer, one of whom was found with the back of its head gnawed off and the brains taken out. The animals that were not killed, had been dispersed and frightened to a distance, so that a fresh relay could not be obtained for the sledges. The summit of the mountains were, however, in spite of this disappointment, shortly reached; whence, after having made some observations, they immediately commenced descending towards the plain:—

“Towards the east, we could now descry, over a broad wall of outlying hills, the undulating plain through which the Khanami takes its winding course. The sun was already set, but the strong twilight still tinged with red the western sky and the snowy plain, and only the hollows lay in shade. The air was perfectly transparent, and there was not the least sign of mist in the valleys. Bright green shadows on the ground, from objects near us, could now be seen from the twilight, though less vividly than on our ascent, when the sun was directing its rays horizontally, and they added not a little to the charms of this singular landscape.”

Exhilarated by the pleasant termination of their excursion, they descended the mountain slope at a swift gallop, gliding with immense rapidity over the smooth snow until they reached the lovely vale of the Khanami. Traversing this they entered on the broad alluvial plain, where they met with two huge caravans of the wandering Samoyedes.

The spot where our travellers had left the tent, was found utterly deserted. The herds having exhausted the scanty herbage which grows beneath the snow, had removed off some distance in a north-easterly direction, and thither the family had followed them. The separated party soon joined again, and a feast of reindeer flesh and porridge, and a hearty night's rest, recompensed all for the fatigue they had borne.

It was not our traveller's intention to pursue the journey further in this direction. He therefore, after observing all that was curious and interesting in the neighbourhood, left Obsdorsk, and pushing his return with as much haste as was practicable, again arrived at Tobolsk on the 29th of Dec. So rapid had been the journey, that the transition from the nomade life of the north, to the totally different modes and manners of the tribes of their neighbourhood, appeared like a dream, and inspired our author, not with the desire to seek again the homes of civilization, but with earnest longings to penetrate still deeper into the strange regions he had visited, where man is seen almost in his primeval simplicity. But this was impossible until the return of a milder season. Our travellers, therefore, wintered at Tobolsk, and then proceeded on their adventurous travels. We leap over a wide space in the narrative, and meet the expedition on the shores of Lake Baikal, advancing towards the frontiers of China. Up to a very recent period in modern history, the close connection of the Russian and Chinese Empires was unknown. Merchants and traders, however, endeavoured to push their enterprises beyond the usual limit, and the spirit of commercial adventure, which is ever the pilot of discovery, carried them across the wide regions lying between the old kingdom and the then almost fabulous land of the Celestials. Rumours arose, and were spread. It was asserted that beyond the borders of those dreary tracts of land, which the traders of Russia had hitherto been led to consider as the barriers of enterprise, there lay a mighty empire, peopled with millions of inhabitants, and well adapted to enter into commercial intercourse with the half-civilized races of whose existence they were as ignorant as these races themselves were of the nations that surrounded them. Discoveries followed each other in quick succession, and at length opened the way for those immense trading caravans that now form the link of communication between the two empires.

Lake Baikal was completely frozen over, and the expedition at once struck forth upon its wide extent. The horses went forward at a heavy gallop, which never flagged until the opposite shore was gained. Seven German miles were thus completed in the space of two hours and a quarter. A brilliant scene was presented from the heights on the north side of the lake.

"All along the shore the rays of the sun were broken and refracted in a thousand tints from a confused range of shattered fragments and polished sheets of ice, that shot perpendicularly up from the adjacent plain. Beyond lay the glassy expanse, stretching away to the South-west and North to disappear in the dark blue sky; while, in the West, the glittering peaks upon the opposite shore seemed to rise out of the very lake itself, their lower parts being hidden by the convexity of the earth."

Hence a low plain, overgrown with reeds and sedge, allowed but an indifferent road for the sledge. Beyond this lay the valley of the Selenga, a river of considerable size, with fruitful and fertile agricultural tracts extending from its banks. Immense trains of sledges, laden with tea-packages, met them at intervals, while occasionally oxen served as beasts of draught. At Troitskoi they saw a monastery enclosed within a quadrangular wall, with turrets and loopholes at the corners. The Abbot Feodosyi settled here in 1681, when he came from Moscow to convert the Buraets, in company with a few monks. The monastery he built was one of the earliest erected on this side of the Lake Baikal. It contained, when Mr. Erman passed, six monks and a prior. About the middle of February they reached Verkhnei Udinsk, a town of some little importance, inhabited by a respectable population. Beyond this place they again entered among nomade races—the Buraets, who preserve a manner of life similar to that of the Samoyedes. An encampment of these people was met with, and they came out and welcomed the travellers with all the rude hospitality of half-savage tribes. But short stay, however, was made among them, for our travellers were anxious to visit the Chinese frontier, which was now but a few miles distant. Arrived, they found the subjects of China hurrying across the boundary line, in compliance with the law which ordains that every subject of his Celestial Majesty shall be in Maimachen before sunset.

"We followed the crowd that were pressing towards a narrow door in the front of a large wooden building. This admitted us into the inner quadrangle of a Russian warehouse, where merchandise is stored and disposed of by wholesale ; but not exposed for sale. A corresponding door, at the opposite side of this court, opens just upon a wooden barricade, which constitutes the barrier of China. In this there is another portal, ornamented with pillars, and displaying the Russian eagle above it, along with the cipher of the reigning emperor, Nicholas the First, by whom it was erected.

"The change upon passing through this gate seemed like a dream, or the effect of magic ; a contrast so startling could hardly be experienced at any other spot upon the earth. The unvaried sober hues of the Russian horde were succeeded all at once by an exhibition of gaudy finery, more fantastic and extravagant than was ever seen at any Christmas wake or parish festival in Germany. The roadway of the streets consists of a bed of wellbeaten clay, which is always neatly swept ; while the walls of the same material, on either side, are relieved by windows of Chinese paper. These walls do not at first sight present the appearance of fronts of houses, as the roofs are flat and not seen from the street. Indeed, they are nearly altogether concealed by the gay coloured paper lanterns and flags with inscriptions on them, which are hung out on both sides of the way. Cords, with similar scrolls and lanterns, are likewise stretched from roof to roof across the street. These dazzling decorations stand out in glaring contrast with the dull yellow of the ground and walls. In the open crossings of the streets, which intersect each other at right angles, stood enormous chafing-dishes of cast-iron, like basins, upon a slender pedestal of four feet in height. The benches by which they were surrounded were occupied by tea-drinkers, who sat smoking from the little pipes which they carry at their girdles, while their kettles were boiling at the common fire. It is only the porters and camel-drivers, and the petty dealers—that is, Mongols of the lowest class—who thus seek refreshment and chit-chat in the streets."

The travellers walked about the town, viewing its curiosities, and observing the various interesting phases of Chinese civilization, as it develops itself in that extreme limit of the empire. The evening gun, at length, however, put a period to their investigations, for they were then compelled to leave the town, no *barbarian* being allowed to remain within its circumference a moment after sunset. The next day Mr. Erman busied himself with collecting information as to the early Russian expeditions to China, and we are presented with an extremely graphic account of the birth and growth of that intercourse which has since risen to such extent. The Festival of the White

Moon began on the following morning, and Chinese and Russian alike entered into its excitement. The streets were crowded with a gaily-attired throng of pleasure-seekers, while the musical and dramatic performers of Maimachen paraded every public way, and at length offered one of their representations near the sargucher's residence. A feast of one hundred dishes, prepared by one of the great men of the place, next occupied the time of the European visitors; who were then conducted into the temple dedicated to the worship of the great god Fo, where a variety of ceremonies were witnessed, and an enormous number of peace-offerings presented to the idol. A visit to the theatre, which stood in close proximity to the house of worship, closed the day's proceedings; and Mr. Erman and his companions, passing through the wooden gate of the town, again stood in the Russian Empire.

Making a somewhat prolonged stay in Maimachen, the spring had somewhat advanced before our travellers proceeded again to their former starting-place, and made several excursions into other parts of Siberia. We now find them, after having travelled through a diversified country inhabited by several distinct tribes, advancing over a wide plain towards Yakutsk. A burying-ground marked the near approach to human habitations, and the black earth of some fresh graves was prominently visible above the white snow, together with some wooden crosses, and a small chapel in the midst. The town itself was shortly reached. It is situated on the bank overhanging a broad deep hollow, communicating in summer with a river which flows from a neighbouring lake, but now completely filled with snow. A wooden hut, with some towers in a wretched state of dilapidation, were the only traces which the ancient Russian conquerors left behind them, if we except the great stone-built cathedral dedicated to Saint Nicholas, and another church. A singular appearance was presented in the streets of Yakutsk. The more civilized immigrants from other lands have raised houses of somewhat European aspect, and between these modern habitations stand the ancient dwellings of the aboriginal Yakuts, composed of clay and cow-dung, with doors of hairy hides and windows of ice. These people, disdaining the innovations brought from strange countries, chose rather to live in their own primitive simplicity, exchanging

the more solidly-constructed winter huts for light tents when the hot season comes round. This gives the city a heterogeneous and confused appearance, the only uniformity observable being that of the snow, the same covering which is spread alike over the comparatively stately dwelling of the stranger, and the wretched Yurts, the original owners of the land.

A thriving trade is carried on at this town, so that the inhabitants of Yakutsk are enabled annually to send great caravans of European and Chinese goods over the mountains to Okhotsk. Nothing can be more remarkable than the spirit and energy exhibited by these traders. Setting forth early in the year, they collect the produce of the whole line of coast on the Polar Sea, from the mouth of the Lena to the furthest point inhabited by the Chukchi, sometimes extending their voyage beyond Behring Straits, and occasionally even fetching merchandize from the mainland of America. Others wander in all directions through the surrounding countries, buying furs and skins, which, brought to this great centre of trade, are again distributed over a large portion of the world.

"The Yukagirs and Chukchi bring also to these markets the skins of the wild reindeer which they kill in summer. Great herds of these shy animals break forth every year, about the breeding-time, out of the forests in the South, and migrate with unrestrainable haste in a straight line to the naked plains near the sea. Thus the Samoyedes at the Obi told me, that the reindeer there choose for their summer pastures the many valleys in the mountains of Obdorsk, where we, however, in winter could find only traces of their former presence. In both places it is ascertained that these flights of the deer are occasioned by gnats, which then infest the woods; and I have seen in Kamschatka, under perfectly similar circumstances, reasons to admit the likelihood of this account."

The Chukchi say that many of their tribe have crossed from East Cape to America, and brought back furs with them from thence. To support their statement, they mention the names of several places on the continent. Many years ago an adventurous merchant ventured out upon the Polar Sea, and discovered some islands, though he missed that of New Siberia. With a train of dog sledges it was his custom to set forth every year, and come back laden with the materials of wealth. But his prosperous monopoly was but of short duration. Protodiakonov, an adventurous

trader, followed in his track, discovered New Siberia, and revealed the existence of the northern islands to his government. A brisk traffic is now sustained between these regions, of which one is not more extraordinary than the rest; for all are invested with the highest degree of interest. We cannot pause to enumerate the various materials which form the bulk of this great and annually increasing trade; though amongst the others we may mention ivory, mammoths' teeth, and rhinoceros horns.

But we must not here follow our travellers through any more of their interesting experience. We ourselves have accompanied Mr. Erman over every mile of the ground traversed by him, but space does not allow that we should afford our readers the same gratification. Nevertheless, we have in their company gone over a large portion of the countries visited by the able author of the present narrative. His work is one of the most interesting that has been published within many years. It forms an excellent companion to the wild and adventurous narrative of Mr. Richardson in the Saharan deserts, and to the extraordinary relations of the Rajah Brooke. We take leave of our author with regret, and thank him for the immense amount of interesting matter he has presented to the world. He has, it may be said, reclaimed Siberia from the oblivion into which neglect had thrown it. Little of political importance is connected with this snowy yet noble region; and for that reason perhaps the public has hitherto regarded them with indifference. Mr. Cooley has done the cause of knowledge much good service by his able and vigorous translation of Mr. Erman's valuable work. To no more skilful hands could the task have been intrusted.

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ART. VII.—*Life, Letters, and Literary Remains of John Keats*.  
Edited by RICHARD MONCKTON MILNES. 2 vols. 8vo. London:  
Moxon, 1848.

WE cannot help thinking it exceedingly strange that we should have remained so long without an authentic memoir of John Keats. It is difficult to fancy a subject more likely to attract a biographer. Independently altogether of its literary interest, the mystery and gloom which

surrounded his early death, the popular impressions regarding its causes, the universal sympathy which it occasioned, and the loud indignation against its alleged authors, expressed in every quarter, from the light and unfeeling scoff of the noble assailant of "the Quarterly, so savage and 'Tartarly," down to Shelley's deep and passionate curse—

"On his head who pierced that innocent breast,  
And scared the angel soul that was its earthly guest"—

had excited a curiosity which no one could have expected to remain nearly thirty years unsatisfied.

Unlike the generality of youthful poets, too, Keats's character was one to which his published poetry could afford but little clue. Even if we allow for the scantiness and the fragmentary nature of his literary remains, we shall find few writers who have left less trace of themselves and their own personality in what they have written. His poetry is, in the last degree, ideal, or rather, so to speak, unpersonal. Very little of it deals with the realities of life at all, and the little which can be said to do so, throws no light on the individuality of the author himself. In the world of fancy and ideality—in his relation to external nature, to poetry, or to art—in all the *generalities* of feeling and passion—no writer ever revealed himself more fully or more freely. But in those things which are the staple of thought with ordinary men, and which form the especial burden of every youthful poet's theme—in all that regards his relations to common life, its hopes, its fears, its pleasures, its passions—Keats's pages may be considered as almost a perfect blank, at least in all that would tend to illustrate his own personal character and disposition.

Nor, by the way, can we subscribe unreservedly to a doctrine with regard to the lives of authors which Mr. Milnes cites, and appears to adopt, from Wordsworth's "Letter to a friend of Robert Burns;"—that "there is no cause why the lives of this class of men should be pried into with diligent curiosity, and laid open with the same disregard of reserve which may sometimes be expedient in composing the history of men who have borne an active part in the world." We are by no means disposed to cede to genius the immunity from observation which this doctrine would imply; and to permit it to shroud itself from critical scrutiny in the dim and misty veil which

its very elevation casts around it. On the contrary, we would maintain that, in their capacity of public instructors, and in so far as their books are concerned, authors can only be considered in the light of public men; and if, as Wordsworth himself admits, a scrutiny of the private lives of public men conduces to explain their public conduct, we think it no less just or less necessary to apply the same test for the due explanation of the public conduct of authors, that is, of the works they have given to the world.

In the case of Keats, too, there appears to be a special reason why this delicacy should be regarded as uncalled for, and indeed misplaced. If a poet strictly confine himself to purely literary topics—if his writings have no higher object than to amuse the fancy, or excite and interest the imagination;—then, perhaps, (although the case may well be considered impossible), he is entitled to be looked upon as a private personage, and to claim the indulgence and reserve with which private character should always be discussed. But the case is very different if, as in almost every instance, the poet assumes, even indirectly, the character of an instructor;—and especially, as too often has occurred, if he set himself against principles, whether in morals or in religion, which are held as undisputed by society at large. If the poet choose to himself such a part as this, he becomes, by the very fact, and independently of his poetic character altogether, a public man; and if his biography be submitted to the public at all, they are entitled to demand from his biographer so much of his private life—so much of what he has written and spoken—so much of his intercourse with known and trusted friends—so much even of his most hidden communings with himself, as may furnish a key to his character and habits of mind; may supply the necessary commentary upon the obnoxious opinions which he has expressed, and throw the necessary lights upon the motives by which he may have been impelled in adopting them, the consistency with which he may have maintained them, and the influence which they have exercised upon his conduct, his happiness, and his peace. Unhappily, it can hardly be denied, that the ill-fated subject of Mr. Milnes's biography, has made himself amenable to this just and equitable law. Even if we could abstract from the doubts and suspicions, to say the least, which hung over his orthodoxy during life, or

the too notorious and ostentatious unbelief of many of his chosen friends and associates, there is a want about all his writings which, for the due understanding of his religious character, required some commentary from himself; there is a vagueness and dreaminess in his philosophy, which needs to be tested by his habits of every-day thought; there is a kind of mystic paganism in his poetic creed—a lingering, reverential love

“Of old Olympus’ faded hierarchy”—

a fond regret for its long-past “happy pieties”—a melancholy repining over our own untrustful days—

“Too, too late for the fond believing lyre,  
When holy were the haunted forest boughs,  
Holy the air, the water, and the fire”—

which, though perfectly possible in a good Christian, is but a bad support for a suspected orthodoxy;—above all, there is everywhere throughout his works, a perpetual and all-pervading worship of Nature in her various forms, which strongly resembles the pantheistical cant that had become fashionable about the latter years of his life, and which would be downright pantheism, if it were not otherwise proved to be mere sentimentalism.

Such, we believe, were the popular impressions regarding Keats and his opinions; and, although we feel deeply and bitterly everything that tends to depreciate genius, or to lower it in the eyes of common men; and though we especially lament such revelations as lend to vice, in any of its forms, the sanction and authority which genius is sure to impart; nevertheless, we have no hesitation in saying, that in such a case as his, it would have been wrong to suppress any portion of those records of his mind which tended, even remotely, to explain his religious belief, or to illustrate its practical influence upon his destinies.

For our own part, we will confess that this precise consideration formed the chief ingredient in the interest with which we looked forward to the publication of Mr. Milnes's long promised Memoir of Keats; and it is deeply painful to add, that, loving and cherishing the memory of this ill-fated youth with all the fervour which must ever belong to one's feelings for the favourite poet of his boyish days, we should have infinitely preferred our former doubts and suspicions, against which, though they could not be dis-

missed, it was still possible to hope, to the saddening and disheartening reality which these melancholy, though most interesting pages reveal. But we must not anticipate.

The materials of this Memoir were collected many years since, by Mr. Charles Brown, one of Keats's earliest and fastest friends, and his partner in some of his literary labours, especially the (hitherto unpublished) tragedy of "Otho the Great." Being prevented by circumstances, from publishing his intended Memoir, Mr. Brown transferred the collection to Mr. Milnes, who, when his intention was made public, received several valuable contributions of further records from the poet's surviving friends. His volumes contain nothing in the form of an autobiography, and hardly anything that can be called a diary, though Keats appears to have projected and actually undertaken one. Its chief interest lies in the collection of his letters to members of his family and other friends, and in the account of his death, supplied by his friend, Mr. Severn, the well-known artist, who was his companion and more than nurse on the last days of his afflicted life, all of which Mr. Milnes has woven together with great taste, feeling, and judgment.

The history of his childhood and early youth is entirely without interest, except in so far as it shows that his mind was entirely self-taught and self-trained. His father, though of low origin, rose to considerable affluence, and left his children—three sons, of whom John, the poet, was the eldest,\* and a daughter—in comparative independence. The boys were educated at the school of Mr. Clarke at Enfield; and during the first years, John was only remarkable for his "indifference to be thought 'a good boy;' his skill in all manly exercises, the perfect generosity of his disposition, and his fierce pugnacity." He was "always fighting," and chose his favourites among those who fought most readily, and "showed the greatest pluck" in the school. On the other hand, his disposition was tender and affectionate beyond description. His grief at his mother's death was long and uncontrollable, and his affection for his brothers, though he did not scruple to

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\* Mr. Milnes says the second; but a writer in the *Athenæum* evidently well informed, affirms the contrary. John was born October 29, 1795.

fight with them on occasion, was deep and sincere. Towards the close of his studies at school, however, his diligence became as remarkable as had hitherto been his idleness; but his reading seems to have been shallow and discursive, and he left school an ill-taught youth, with little Latin and no Greek, and unfamiliar with all the ordinary subjects of early education except the Greek Mythology, in which he seems to have been a perfect adept. His personal appearance was peculiar—

"This impression was no doubt unconsciously aided by a rare vivacity of countenance and very beautiful features. His eyes, then, as ever, were large and sensitive, flashing with strong emotions or suffused with tender sympathies, and more distinctly reflected the varying impulses of his nature than when under the self-control of maturer years: his hair hung in thick brown ringlets round a head diminutive for the breadth of the shoulders below it, while the smallness of the lower limbs, which in later life marred the proportion of his person, was not then apparent, any more than the undue prominence of the lower lip, which afterwards gave his face too pugnacious a character to be entirely pleasing, but at that time only completed such an impression as the ancients had of Achilles,—joyous and glorious youth, everlastingly striving."—vol. i., p. 7.

"A lady, whose feminine acuteness of perception is only equallied by the vigour of her understanding, tells me she distinctly remembers Keats as he appeared at this time at Hazlitt's lectures. 'His eyes were large and blue, his hair auburn; he wore it divided down the centre, and it fell in rich masses on each side his face; his mouth was full, and less intellectual than his other features. His countenance lives in my mind as one of singular beauty and brightness—it had an expression as if he had been looking on some glorious sight. The shape of his face had not the squareness of a man's, but more like some womens' faces I have seen—it was so wide over the forehead and so small at the chin. He seemed in perfect health, and with life offering all things that were precious to him.'"—vol. i. pp. 103, 104.

At the age of fifteen, (1810) he was apprenticed to a surgeon named Hammond; but although he appears to have laboured with considerable diligence at his profession, yet he eventually abandoned it for the more congenial pursuit of literature, and especially poetry. Never was there a soul with which poetry was more unmistakably an instinct. He "thought so much and so long together about poetry, that he could not sleep at night."—(vol. i. p. 42.) He "could not exist without poetry—eternal poetry;" the

best prayer that he could think of for his favourite sister's child is, that "he may be a great poet;" (p. 233), and even at the time of life when the heart is most susceptible of other impressions, he declared himself indifferent to all else beside. He writes to his brother and sister in America:—

"Notwithstanding your happiness and your recommendations, I hope I shall never marry: though the most beautiful creature were waiting for me at the end of a journey or a walk; though the carpet were of silk, and the curtains of the morning clouds, the chairs and sofas stuffed with cygnet's down, the food manna, the wine beyond claret, the window opening on Winandermere, I should not feel, or rather my happiness should not be, so fine; my solitude is sublime—for, instead of what I have described, there is a sublimity to welcome me home; the roaring of the wind is my wife; and the stars through my window-panes are my children; the mighty abstract Idea of Beauty in all things I have, stifles the more divided and minute domestic happiness. An amiable wife and sweet children I contemplate as part of that Beauty, but I must have a thousand of those beautiful particles to fill up my heart. I feel more and more every day, as my imagination strengthens, that I do not live in this world alone, but in a thousand worlds. No sooner am I alone, than shapes of epic greatness are stationed around me, and serve my spirit the office which is equivalent to a king's Body-guard: 'then Tragedy with scepter'd pall comes sweeping by:' according to my state of mind, I am with Achilles shouting in the trenches, or with Theocritus in the vales of Sicily; or throw my whole being into Troilus, and, repeating those lines, 'I wander like a lost soul upon the Stygian bank, staying for waftage,' I melt into the air with a voluptuousness so delicate, that I am content to be alone."—vol. i. pp. 234, 235.

This devotion to his art, too, was accompanied by the firmest confidence in his own powers. He felt (1819) "every confidence that if he chose, he could be a popular writer." (v. ii. p. 12). The more he knew what his diligence might effect, "the more his heart distended with pride and obstinacy" (p. 14); and although Mr. Milnes produces some of his letters, which profess an apparent indifference to the well-known coarse and stupid 'articles' in the 'Quarterly,' and in 'Blackwood's Magazine,' to which Keats's death has so long been popularly attributed, yet we are far from being satisfied that such a mind as his could have borne such a blow uninjured, however his pride may have concealed the wound.

Keats's first publication was a small volume, (1816),

which, as his biographer says, "scarcely touched the public attention," though the poet himself attributed its failure to the favourite scapegoat of unhappy authors—an inactive publisher. His very failure, however, had the effect of arousing all his energies, and he immediately engaged upon his great poem, "Endymion," which he finished in November, 1817. The MS. is still extant, with all the erasures, corrections, &c., of the author; and it is not a little remarkable that it goes a great way to confirm almost the only criticism in the too-celebrated "article," which may not be pronounced unjust and bigoted—viz., that the author had been guided in the composition of his poem, not by the subject itself, but by the thoughts suggested by the rhymes of the successive couplets. The alterations which the MS. still exhibits, are precisely such as to bear out this observation.

It would appear, too, as if in "Endymion" Keats had proposed to himself a task of fixed and given dimensions, and resolved to fill up these dimensions, irrespective of the matter of the poem; or rather, as if he had systematically tasked his inventive powers to discover poetic materials in the required quantity.

"'As to what you say about my being a Poet, I can return no answer but by saying that the high idea I have of poetical fame makes me think I see it towering too high above me. At any rate I have no right to talk until 'Endymion' is finished. It will be a test, a trial of my powers of imagination, and chiefly of my invention—which is a rare thing indeed—*by which I must make 4000 lines of one bare circumstance, and fill them with poetry.* And when I consider that this is a great task, and that when done it will take me but a dozen paces towards the Temple of Fame—it makes me say—'God forbid that I should be without such a task!' I have heard Hunt say, and [I] may be asked, '*Why endeavour after a long poem?*' To which I should answer, 'Do not the lovers of poetry like to have a little region to wander in, where they may pick and choose, and in which the images are so numerous that many are forgotten and found new in a second reading,—which may be food for a week's stroll in the summer?' Do not they like this better than what they can read through before Mrs. Williams comes down stairs?—a morning's work at most.

"'Besides, a *long poem* is a test of invention, which I take to be the polar star of poetry, as Fancy is the sails, and Imagination the rudder. Did our great poets ever write short pieces? I mean, in the shape of Tales. This same invention seems indeed of late

years to have been forgotten in a partial excellence. But enough of this—I put on no laurels till I shall have finished ‘Endymion,’ and I hope Apollo is not enraged at my having made mockery of him at Hunt’s.”—vol. i. pp. 61, 62.

We need not say that it was the “Endymion” which drew forth the articles already referred to, as well as that of Lord Jeffrey in the *Edinburgh Review*, though not for nearly two years later, on occasion of the publication of his third volume, containing “*Lamia; and other Poems.*” Mr. Milnes, as we have already said, appears to think that Keats’s letters prove him to have been utterly indifferent to these attacks, and there certainly is one which puts a brave face upon the matter.

“I cannot but feel indebted to those gentlemen who have taken my part. As for the rest, I begin to get a little acquainted with my own strength and weakness. Praise or blame has but a momentary effect on the man whose love of beauty in the abstract makes him a severe critic on his own works. My own domestic criticism has given me pain without comparison beyond what ‘Blackwood’ or the ‘Quarterly’ could inflict: and also when I feel I am right, no external praise can give me such a glow as my own solitary re-perception and ratification of what is fine. J. S. is perfectly right in regard to the ‘slipshod Endymion.’ That it is so is no fault of mine. No! though it may sound a little paradoxical, it is as good as I had power to make it by myself. Had I been nervous about it being a perfect piece, and with that view asked advice, and trembled over every page, it would not have been written; for it is not in my nature to fumble. I will write independently. I have written independently *without judgment*, I may write independently, and *with judgment*, hereafter. The Genius of Poetry must work out its own salvation in a man. It cannot be matured by law and precept, but by sensation and watchfulness in itself. That which is creative must create itself. In ‘Endymion’ I leaped headlong into the sea, and thereby have become better acquainted with the soundings, the quicksands, and the rocks, than if I had stayed upon the green shore, and piped a silly pipe, and took tea and comfortable advice. I was never afraid of failure; for I would sooner fail than not be among the greatest.”—pp. 214, 215, vol. i.

Still, there is sufficient trace, even in the boldest of his letters, of his having felt the attack keenly. He “has hopes of the non-appearance” of the article in *Blackwood*; he catches at a very trifling circumstance in confirmation of this hope; he does not, however, “*mind it much*,” but

if they go to such lengths with him as they did with Hunt, "he must infallibly," he declares, "call the writer to account;" (194.) and although it is not improbable that the popular impression is an exaggerated view of the injurious impression produced on his health by these most bigoted and unjust criticisms, still, from these and many similar indications, we have no doubt that it is in great part true and well-founded.

It is impossible for us to follow Mr. Milnes through the details of Keats's private life and friendships. His associates and friends are, for the most part, already known from Leigh Hunt's memoir. The most remarkable of them were Hunt himself, Hazlitt, Charles Brown, Mr. Dilke, Haydon the academician, the Rev. Benjamin Bailey, Mr. Taylor, and Severn the painter, to whose more than friendly devotedness he was indebted for the only consolation which his last days enjoyed. His circumstances, as might have been expected, became early embarrassed. He began to feel the terrors "of that hydra, the duni," and, in the year 1819, he half resolved to try to gain a livelihood by periodical writing. But the love of poetry prevailed; and about this time he formed an attachment which, though not unreturned, was nevertheless doomed to disappointment, in consequence of his poverty. We have seldom read any thing more painful than the following letter, written, in all the hopelessness of his love, almost upon his death-bed:

"As I have gone thus far into it, I must go on a little; perhaps it may relieve the load of *wretchedness* which presses upon me. The persuasion that I shall see her no more will kill me. My dear Brown, I should have had her when I was in health, and I should have remained well. I can bear to die—I cannot bear to leave her. Oh, God! God! God! Everything I have in my trunks that reminds me of her goes through me like a spear. The silk lining she put in my travelling cap scalds my head. My imagination is horribly vivid about her—I see her—I hear her. There is nothing in the world of sufficient interest to divert me from her a moment. This was the case when I was in England; I cannot recollect, without shuddering, the time that I was a prisoner at Hunt's, and used to keep my eyes fixed on Hampstead all day. Then there was a good hope of seeing her again—Now!—O that I could be buried near where she lives! I am afraid to write to her—to receive a letter from her—to see her hand-writing would break my heart—even to hear of her anyhow, to see her name written, would be more than I can bear. My dear Brown, what am I

to do? Where can I look for consolation or ease? If I had any chance of recovery, this passion would kill me. Indeed, through the whole of my illness, both at your house and at Kentish Town, this fever has never ceased wearing me out. When you write to me, which you will do immediately, write to Rome (*poste restante*)—if she is well and happy, put a mark thus + ; if——”—pp. 77, 78, vol. ii.

We have said that this letter was written almost upon his death-bed. In the year 1819, the first decided symptoms of his hereditary disease, consumption, which had already carried off his mother and his brother Thomas, showed themselves in an attack which could hardly be mistaken. He recovered somewhat from its worst symptoms; but in the following year his case had become so threatening, that he was ordered to try a warmer climate, as the only hope of recovery. Alas! it was too late! He sailed for Naples, accompanied by his generous friend Severn, and after a short stay in that city, arrived in Rome in such a state, that recovery was utterly hopeless. We can only find room for a few extracts from Severn's most painful and touching diary. The friends were all but penniless.

“ ‘Torlonia, the banker, has refused us any more money; the bill is returned unaccepted, and to-morrow I must pay my last crown for this cursed lodging-place: and what is more, if he dies, all the beds and furniture will be burnt and the walls scraped, and they will come on me for a hundred pounds or more! But, above all, this noble fellow lying on the bed and without the common spiritual comforts that many a rogue and fool has in his last moments! If I do break down it will be under this; but I pray that some angel of goodness may yet lead him through this dark wilderness.

“ ‘If I could leave Keats every day for a time I could soon raise money by my painting, but he will not let me out of his sight, he will not bear the face of a stranger. I would rather cut my tongue out than tell him I must get the money—that would kill him at a word. You see my hopes of being kept by the Royal Academy will be cut off, unless I send a picture by the spring. I have written to Sir T. Lawrence. I have got a volume of Jeremy Taylor's works, which Keats has heard me read to-night. This is a treasure indeed, and came when I should have thought it hopeless. Why may not other good things come? I will keep myself up with such hopes. Dr. Clark is still the same, though he knows about the bill: he is afraid the next change will be to diarrhœa. Keats sees all this—his knowledge of anatomy makes every change tenfold worse: every way he is unfortunate, yet every one offers me assistance on

his account. He cannot read any letters, he has made me put them by him unopened. They tear him to pieces—he dare not look on the outside of any more: make this known.

“*Feb. 18th.*—I have just got your letter of Jan. 15th. The contrast of your quiet friendly Hampstead with this lonely place and our poor suffering Keats, brings the tears into my eyes. I wish many many times that he had never left you. His recovery would have been impossible in England; but his excessive grief has made it equally so. In your care he seemed to me like an infant in its mother's arms; you would have smoothed down his pain by variety of interests, and his death would have been eased by the presence of many friends. Here, with one solitary friend, in a place savage for an invalid, he has one more pang added to his many—for I have had the hardest task in keeping from him my painful situation. I have kept him alive week after week. He has refused all food, and I have prepared his meals six times a day, till he had no excuse left. I have only dared to leave him while he slept. It is impossible to conceive what his sufferings have been: he might, in his anguish, have plunged into the grave in secret, and not a syllable been known about him: this reflection alone repays me for all I have done. Now, he is still alive and calm. He would not hear that he was better: the thought of recovery is beyond everything dreadful to him; we now dare not perceive any improvement, for the hope of death seems his only comfort. He talks of the quiet grave as the first rest he can ever have.

“In the last week a great desire for books came across his mind. I got him all I could, and three days this charm lasted, but now it has gone. Yet he is very tranquil. He is more and more reconciled to his horrible misfortunes.

“*Feb. 14th.*—Little or no change has taken place, except this beautiful one, that his mind is growing to great quietness and peace. I find this change has to do with the increasing weakness of his body, but to me it seems like a delightful sleep: I have been beating about in the tempest of his mind so long. To-night he has talked very much, but so easily, that he fell at last into a pleasant sleep. He seems to have happy dreams. This will bring on some change,—it cannot be worse—it may be better. Among the many things he has requested of me to-night, this is the principal—that on his grave-stone shall be this inscription:—

‘HERE LIES ONE WHOSE NAME WAS WRIT IN WATER.’

You will understand this so well that I need not say a word about it.”—pp. 88-91, vol. ii.

“Last night I thought he was going; I could hear the phlegm in his throat; he bade me lift him up in the bed or he would die with pain. I watched him all night, expecting him to be suffocated

at every cough. This morning, by the pale daylight, the change in him frightened me : he has sunk in the last three days to a most ghastly look. Though Dr. Clark has prepared me for the worst, I shall be ill able to bear it. I cannot bear to be set free even from this my horrible situation by the loss of him.

" 'I am still quite precluded from painting : which may be of consequence to me. Poor Keats has me ever by him, and shadows out the form of one solitary friend : he opens his eyes in great doubt and horror, but when they fall upon me, they close gently, open quietly and close again, till he sinks to sleep. This thought alone would keep me by him till he dies : and why did I say I was losing my time ? The advantages I have gained by knowing John Keats are double and treble any I could have won by any other occupation. Farewell.

" 'Feb. 27th.—He is gone ; he died with the most perfect ease—he seemed to go to sleep. On the twenty-third, about four, the approaches of death came on. 'Severn—I—lift me up—I am dying—I shall die easy ; don't be frightened—be firm, and thank God it has come.' I lifted him up in my arms. The phlegm seemed boiling in his throat, and increased until eleven, when he gradually sunk into death, so quiet, that I still thought he slept. I cannot say more now. I am broken down by four nights' watching, no sleep since, and my poor Keats gone. Three days since the body was opened : the lungs were completely gone. The doctors could not imagine how he had lived these two months. I followed his dear body to the grave on Monday with many English. They take much care of me here—I must else have gone into a fever. I am better now, but still quite disabled.' "—pp. 93, 94, vol. ii.

Into poor Keats's religious opinions it would be painful to enter too closely, but there is a deep and warning lesson for the incipient doubter to be learned at his early death-bed. His letters, as far as they are now published, do not contain any absolute avowal of a fixed and settled system of unbelief, but they leave an impression which it is impossible to resist ; and in his views even upon the first elements of natural religion, there is a vagueness and uncertainty which fills one with dismay. Thus, for instance, he calmly places Jesus and Socrates (266) upon the same level, as the only two whom he can remember "to have had hearts completely disinterested ;" and speculates as to whether "there may not be some superior beings amused with any graceful attitude his mind may fall into," as if the idea of a Providence was one which did not enter into his mind (269.) Again, although in one place (p. 246) he professes "a firm belief in immortality," yet, in another, he

doubts whether "there is a future life," and wherever he alludes to the prospect of his death, all his aspirations after death are after the forgetfulness and oblivion with which he professedly identifies it. In a word, all his opinions seem vague and undefined, and we have no doubt that this very vagueness and uncertainty is the worst penalty which unbelief brings in its train.

The reader, we doubt not, will have been reminded, in many passages of Keats's life, of the not very dissimilar career of our own countryman, Gerald Griffin. But, alas, how different their close! How striking the contrast of Griffin's peaceful and happy death, with the following outpouring of wretchedness and gloom—the more wretched from the terrible doubts and uncertainties in which the future seems involved!

"I wish to write on subjects that will not agitate me much. There is one I must mention and have done with it. Even if my body would recover of itself, this would prevent it. The very thing which I want to live most for, will be a great occasion of my death. I cannot help it. Who can help it? Were I in health it would make me ill, and how can I bear it in my state? I dare say you will be able to guess on what subject I am harping—you know what was my greatest pain during the first part of my illness at your house. I wish for death every day and night to deliver me from these pains, and then I wish death away, for death would destroy even those pains, which are better than nothing. Land and sea, weakness and decline, are great separators, but death is the great divorcer for ever. When the pang of this thought has passed through my mind, I may say the bitterness of death is passed."—pp. 73, 74, vol. ii.

"Is there another life? Shall I awake and find all this a dream? There must be, we cannot be created for this sort of suffering. The receiving this letter is to be one of yours—I will say nothing about our friendship, or rather yours to me, more than that, as you deserve to escape, you will never be so unhappy as I am. I should think of you in my last moments. I shall endeavour to write to Miss —, if possible, to-day. A sudden stop to my life in the middle of one of these letters would be no bad thing, for it keeps one in a sort of fever awhile."—pp. 74, 75, vol. ii.

We shall add, in connexion with the history of the close of his career, his Last Sonnet, written on the Dorchester coast, during that voyage to Italy, from which he was destined never to return.

## "KEATS'S LAST SONNET.

"Bright star! would I were steadfast as thou art—  
 Not in lone splendour hung aloft the night,  
 And watching, with eternal lids apart,  
 Like Nature's patient sleepless Eremite,  
 The moving waters at their priestlike task  
 Of pure ablution round earth's human shores,  
 Or gazing on the new soft fallen mask  
 Of snow upon the mountains and the moors—  
 No—yet still steadfast, still unchangeable,  
 Pillow'd upon my fair love's ripening breast,  
 To feel for ever its soft fall and swell,  
 Awake for ever in a sweet unrest,  
 Still, still to hear her tender-taken breath,  
 And so live ever—or else swoon to death."\*—Vol. ii, p. 306.

The rest of the "Literary Remains," with a few exceptions, are hardly equal to the reputation which the author's published poetry had won. The largest piece of the entire, the tragedy of "Otho the Great," was written with a view to its being represented, and was offered for this purpose with some prospect of success, at more than one of the London theatres; but, like Gerald Griffin's "Gisippus," it was allowed, in the end, to fall to the ground; and even Mr. Milnes acknowledges the judiciousness of the sentence. Nevertheless, there are many passages in it which evince poetic merit of the very highest order; and as a piece for the closet, it is hardly surpassed by any of our modern tragedies. The fairy fantasy of "The Cap and Bells" appears to have been suggested by the study of Ariosto, but it is in a most unfinished state; and though it displays abundant evidence of humour and of imagination, yet the absence of anything like a fixed plan, as well as the exceeding carelessness of the composition, deprive it of almost all interest, except as a specimen of the wonderful versatility of the author's mind, and his extraordinary power, both in diction and in rhyme, over the barren and dissonant vocabulary of our language. The minor pieces are tolerably numerous. They resemble very much in style and character the poems of the same class which had been already published, and perhaps for general interest,

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\* Another reading:—

"Half-passionless, and so swoon on to death."

are the most valuable of the new materials which Mr. Milnes's volumes have preserved for those faithful hearts which still "weep for Adonais."

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ART. VIII.—*Researches on the Chemistry of Food.* By JUSTUS LIEBIG, M. D. Edited by WILLIAM GREGORY, M. D. London: Taylor and Walton, 1847, pp. 156.

NOTWITHSTANDING the really respectable antiquity of the practices of eating and drinking, and the very considerable extent to which they are even yet carried on, the opinions held of their philosophy have been hitherto very slight and incorrect. If the viands have been savoury and easy of assimilation, the theories as to the choice and action of them have been singularly crude and undigested. Sentiments the most erroneous have been entertained regarding the relative nutrition, digestibility, and salubrity of the various articles of food and drink, and are by the majority still entertained. From an ignorance of true principles regarding these points very serious diseases have sometimes been produced, and there can be little doubt but that a considerable undercurrent of indisposition is still from this cause kept up. Indeed, had mankind acted upon the ideas which it held of food and drink, and had it not fortunately been guided by two old-fashioned instincts—hunger and thirst—incalculable consequences might have happened.

The researches of modern chemistry have undoubtedly considerably improved this state of matters. Formerly the amount of nutrition which articles of food contained, was tested by some peculiarity of appearance, smell, or taste, which was wholly arbitrary. The distinguishing of the proximate principles of animal and vegetable substances—Fibrin, Albumen, Osmazome, Gluten, Starch, &c.—and the attempting to discriminate the value of each as a nutritive agent, and what proportion of each or any of them any article of food contained, were unquestionably important advances. We have always been of opinion that if Davy had lived longer, some important discovery in the philosophy of food would have been made. Equal

to any of his predecessors, this eminent philosopher was undoubtedly far superior to any who have succeeded him in chemical investigations. Unfortunately, however, he was not spared to us.

Then, Dr. Prout's speculations as to the manner in which the articles of food should be arranged, are interesting and important. He divided them, according to their chemical relations, under three heads,—the Saccharine, the Albuminous, and the Oily. The first of these he conceived to consist of carbon in different proportions, chemically combined with water; and the two others of compound bases, also united with water. The prototype of all these classes exists in milk, and Dr. Prout is of opinion that two at least of these must be taken, either together or soon after one another, to meet the demands of the system, and to answer the purposes of digestion and nutrition.

Next have come the brilliant theories of Liebig. Others have previously to him perceived the necessity of the connexion of physiology and pathology with organic chemistry, and also the great importance of a more particular study of the chemistry of animal and vegetable life; but he has had the good fortune to convince the world of this. He has even made it, and this too in a very short space of time, an enthusiastic admirer both of the science and of the splendid hypotheses with which he has adorned it. In almost every particular he has been most fortunate. Deeply versed in chemistry, possessed of an extraordinary skill in making analyses, endowed with quickness of perception, readiness of reasoning, and a facility of getting over objections, he has also been assisted by minor advantages. In other countries than his own he has found valuable editors. His own style, abrupt and obscure as it occasionally is, yet gives sometimes to his opinions and statements the magic and bright colour of romance. Enthusiastic, it excites enthusiastic admirers in its readers. Even when an adversary has risen up against him, Liebig has, like a Napoleon of science, immediately put out his whole strength against him, and as yet has succeeded in at once and effectually crushing him.

But if the style of Liebig sometimes resembles that of the writer of fiction, we fear that his ardent imagination occasionally carries him further than strict logical deduction from facts should permit him. Some of his details

and minor theories, at least, will not bear that entire accordance with results that chemistry so rigorously demands. We even doubt if the present state of the science of organic chemistry, brilliant as it seems, be founded on a sure basis. The very theory of hypothetical radicles, which now looks so charming, is destined, we suspect, to be destroyed by some future Liebig. Strong as is the contempt expressed by the present one for those physiologists and pathologists who neglect the study of chemistry, we are inclined to think that some of these might taunt him with an occasional ignorance and want of practical familiarity with some physiological and pathological processes. And the reader of Liebig, and of the whole school of modern chemists, should carefully bear in mind that the laws of chemistry are subject to a certain modification in all living bodies; in other words, to the control of the strictly vital powers, or of those powers which characterize and distinguish living from inanimate bodies. The discovery of the exact nature of these modifications would indeed be a triumph.

Struck with the novelty and ingenuity of the new theories promulgated by Liebig, we, in common with many others, were perhaps a little inclined to forget that spirit of criticism and scepticism which is so useful in modern physical science. We take the opportunity of the appearance of the work which we place at the head of this article, to make some desultory remarks upon several of the doctrines propounded by Liebig relative to phenomena in plants and animals, principally with reference to their food, or to the Philosophy of Eating and Drinking.

The "Researches on the Chemistry of Food," like the "Animal Chemistry, or Chemistry in its applications to Physiology and Pathology," is edited by Dr. Gregory. But we are sorry to see Dr. Lyon Playfair, who edited, and edited well, the "Organic Chemistry in its applications to Agriculture," discarded even to make room for Dr. Gregory. To deprive a younger but promising chemist of a post, because an elder or better known offers, has an ugly look.

The first part of the "Organic Chemistry," upon the chemical processes which take place in the nutrition of vegetables, is, we suspect, the one which the future chemist will read with the most satisfaction. It is too, one which will undoubtedly lead to a great improvement of

practical agriculture. We do not think that it is possible to draw up a more concise or a clearer summary of the constituent elements of plants than the following:

"Carbon enters into the composition of all plants, and of all their different parts and organs.

"The substances which constitute the principal mass of every vegetable, are compounds of carbon with oxygen and hydrogen in the proper relative proportions for forming water. Woody fibre, starch, sugar, and gum, for example, are such compounds of carbon with the elements of water. In another class of substances containing carbon as an element, oxygen and hydrogen are again present, but the proportion of oxygen is greater than would be required for producing water by union with the hydrogen. The numerous organic acids met with in plants belong, with few exceptions, to this class.

"A third class of vegetable compounds contains carbon and hydrogen, but no oxygen, or less of that element than would be required to convert all the hydrogen into water. These may be regarded as compounds of carbon with the elements of water and an excess of hydrogen. Such are the volatile and fixed oils, wax, and the resins. Many of them have acid characters.

"The juices of all vegetables contain organic acids generally combined with the inorganic bases or metallic oxides, for these metallic oxides exist in every plant, and may be detected in its ashes after incineration.

"Nitrogen is an element of vegetable albumen and gluten, it is a constituent of the acids and of what are termed the 'indifferent substances of plants,' as well as of those peculiar vegetable compounds which possess all the properties of metallic acids, and are known as 'organic bases.'

"Estimated by its proportional weight, nitrogen forms only a very small part of plants, but it is never entirely absent from any part of them. Even when it does not absolutely enter into the composition of a particular part or organ, it is always to be found in the fluids which pervade it.

"It follows from the facts thus far detailed, that the development of a plant requires the presence, first, of substances containing carbon and nitrogen and capable of yielding these elements to the growing organism; secondly, of water and its elements; and lastly, of a soil to furnish the inorganic matters, which are likewise essential to vegetable life."—*Organic Chemistry*, pp. 3, 4.

Where do plants obtain a supply of these constituent elements? In the first place, what supply does *humus* afford? Liebig's answer to this question is both original and philosophical. Humus or mould, as our readers are aware, is the name given to a peculiar substance upon

which the fertility of any soil depends, and which has been supposed to be absorbed by the roots, and to be the principal source of nutriment to plants, especially in affording carbon, an element in which it is rich, inasmuch as mould is formed by the decomposition of structures rich in carbon—in a word, of previous plants. Further, humus has been supposed by vegetable physiologists to owe its properties to a peculiar substance which they have called humic acid.

Liebig, on the contrary, denies that humus, in the form in which it exists in soil, can yield any nutriment to plants. It has been supposed by previous physiologists, that by the aid of water humus was rendered capable of being absorbed by the roots of plants. But humic acid is only soluble just after precipitation, and by exposure to the air or to cold speedily becomes insoluble in water. Indeed, if a piece of mould be treat with water, the fluid only dissolves a very inconsiderable portion of matter, consisting in fact of salts. Water, then, cannot render humus capable of being absorbed by the roots of plants.

This observation had, however, been made by previous physiologists, and hence they had assumed that the humic acid combined with alkalies and alkaline earths, which do undoubtedly exist in the different kinds of soil, and this, too, in sufficient quantity to form such soluble compounds with humic acid. In this manner the roots of plants might absorb humic acid, and thus obtain a supply of carbon. Liebig, however, proves that this view of the matter is erroneous. He assumes that humic acid is absorbed by plants in the form of that salt which contains the largest portion of humic acid—viz., in the form of humate of lime. By burning a plant, and weighing its ashes (consisting of salts and basic oxides), the amount of humic acid which would theoretically be assimilated in this way may easily be reckoned.

"Let us admit likewise," says Liebig, "that potash, soda, and the oxides of iron and manganese have the same capacity of saturation as lime with respect to humic acid, and then we may take as the basis of our calculation the analysis of M. Berthier, who found that 1000 lbs. of dry fir wood yielded 4 lbs. of ashes, and that in every 100 lbs. of these ashes, after the chloride of potassium and sulphate of potash were extracted, 53 lbs. consisted of the basic metallic oxides, potash, soda, lime, magnesia, iron, and manganese.

"40,000 square feet, Hessian measure, of woodland, yield annu-

ally, according to Doctor Heyer, on an average 2,650 lbs. Hessian of dry fir wood, which contain 5.6 lbs. Hessian of metallic oxides.

"Now, according to the estimates of Malaguiti and Sprengel, 1 lb. Hessian of lime combines chemically with 10.9 lbs. Hessian of humic acid, 5.6 of the metallic oxides would accordingly introduce into the trees 61 lbs. Hessian of humic acid, which, admitting humic acid to contain 58 per cent of carbon, would correspond to 91 lbs. Hessian of dry wood. But we have seen that 2650 lbs. of fir wood are really produced.

"Again, if the quantity of humic acid which might be introduced into wheat in the form of humates is calculated from the known proportion of metallic oxides existing in wheat straw, (the sulphates and chlorides also contained in the ashes of the straw not being included) it will be found that the wheat growing on 46,000 square feet of land would receive in that 57½ lbs. Hessian of humic acid, corresponding to 85 lbs. Hessian of woody fibre. But the extent of land just mentioned, produces, independently of the roots and grain, 1780 lbs. Hessian of straw, the composition of which is the same as that of woody fibre."—pp. 10, 11.

Again, one part of even the most soluble humate—humate of lime—requires 2500 parts of water for its solution. Now, if we calculate the whole amount of water which falls upon a field of wheat during the four months of its growth—if, further, we assume that it is saturated with humate of lime, and that all this is absorbed by the roots, none of it being evaporated, we shall have the amount of humic acid or carbon which the wheat can obtain from the soil. We can then ascertain the amount of carbon which the wheat actually contains; and we shall find it an immense deal more than can have been obtained from the soil.

Further, a meadow, which is never manured, goes on producing grass; and its soil, instead of becoming decarbonized, actually gets rich in carbon. Humus in fact, it is admitted on all hands, is the product of decayed vegetation. Vegetation, and the assimilation of carbon in plants, must have preceded the formation of humus.

The fact is, that the grand source of carbon in vegetables is the carbonic acid of the atmosphere, which they absorb by means of their leaves, and which is exhaled from the lungs of animals, and which they have the power of decomposing, and whose oxygen they return to the atmosphere. But does humus play no part in the nutrition of plants?

Humus is woody fibre in a state of decay, or, to use

the expression of Liebig, *eremacausis*. This is to say, that woody fibre, which (when pure) consists of carbon and the elements of water, can, when it has lost its vitality, no longer maintain its chemical constitution. Its carbon and the oxygen of the air mutually act upon one another, and carbonic acid is slowly formed. "An atmosphere of carbonic acid gas, formed at the expense of the oxygen of the air, which it emits very slowly, surrounds every particle of decaying humus. The cultivation of the land, by tilling and loosening the soil, causes a free and unobstructed access of air. An atmosphere of carbonic acid is therefore contained in every fertile soil, and is the first and most important food for the young plants which grow in it."

In fact, in the early life of a plant, before its leaves are formed, there can be no doubt that it is from this source that the radicles absorb carbon for its growth. We can now understand why everything which prevents the humus from being exposed to the air (or to oxygen) diminishes the formation of carbonic acid in this manner, and hence diminishes the food, and hence the growth of the young plant. When, however, a plant is matured, and has its leaves formed, it is comparatively independent of this source of carbon. We can also now understand the truth of the following statement:

"In former periods of the earth's history its surface was covered with plants, the remains of which are still found in the coal formations. These plants, the gigantic monycotyledones, ferns, palms, and reeds, belong to a class to which nature has given the power, by means of an immense extension of their leaves, to dispense with nourishment from the soil. They resemble, in this respect, the plants which we raise from bulbs and tubers, and which live while young upon the substances contained in their seed, and require no food from the soil when their exterior organs of nutrition are formed. This class of plants is even at present ranked among those which do not exhaust the soil.

"The plants of every former period are distinguished from those of the present by the inconsiderable development of their roots. Fruit, leaves, seeds, nearly every part of the plants of a former world except the roots, are found in the brown coal formation. The vascular bundles, and the perishable cellular tissue of which their roots consisted, have been the first to suffer decomposition. But when we examine oaks and other trees, which, in consequence of revolutions of the same kind occurring in later ages, have undergone the same changes, we never find their roots absent.

"The verdant plants of warm climates are very often such as obtain from the soil only a point of attachment, and are not dependant on it for their growth. How extremely small are the roots of the Cactus Sedum and Sempervivum in proportion to their mass and to the surface of their leaves! Again, in the most dry and barren sand, where it is impossible for nourishment to be obtained through the roots, we see the milky juiced plants attain complete perfection. The moisture necessary for the nutrition of these plants is derived from the atmosphere, and, when assimilated, is secured from evaporation by the nature of the juice itself. Caoutchouc and wax, which are formed in these plants, surround the water, as in oily emulsions, with an impenetrable envelope, by which the fluid is retained in the same manner as milk is prevented from evaporating by the skin which forms upon it. These plants therefore become turgid with their juices."—*Organic Chemistry*, pp. 60, 61.

The hydrogen necessary for plants is obtained by the decomposition of water. From this fluid hydrogen is extracted, as carbon is from carbonic acid. The consequence of both these processes is the separation of oxygen. And it would seem that the various structures of a plant in some degree depend upon whether this exhalation of oxygen is complete or not. Caoutchouc, and many volatile oils, contain no oxygen—nothing but hydrogen and carbon. Most, however, of the parts of plants contain a more or less proportion of oxygen. The following table is curious:

" 36 equivalents carbonic acid and 22 eq. hydrogen, derived from 22 eq. water with the separation of 72 eq. oxygen,	}	Woody Fibre.
36 eq. carbonic acid and 36 eq. hydrogen, derived from 36 eq. water with the separation of 72 eq. oxygen.		
36 eq. carbonic acid and 30 eq. hydrogen, derived from 36 eq. water with the separation of 72 eq. oxygen,	}	Sugar.
36 eq. carbonic acid and 16 eq. hydrogen, derived from 16 eq. water with the separation of 64 eq. oxygen,		
36 eq. carbonic acid and 18 eq. hydrogen, derived from 18 eq. water with the separation of 45 eq. oxygen,	}	Starch.
36 eq. carbonic acid and 18 eq. hydrogen, derived from 18 eq. water with the separation of 54 eq. oxygen,		
36 eq. carbonic acid and 16 eq. hydrogen, derived from 16 eq. water with the separation of 64 eq. oxygen,	}	Tannic Acid.
36 eq. carbonic acid and 18 eq. hydrogen, derived from 18 eq. water with the separation of 45 eq. oxygen,		
36 eq. carbonic acid and 18 eq. hydrogen, derived from 18 eq. water with the separation of 54 eq. oxygen,	}	Tartaric Acid.
36 eq. carbonic acid and 18 eq. hydrogen, derived from 18 eq. water with the separation of 54 eq. oxygen,		
36 eq. carbonic acid and 18 eq. hydrogen, derived from 18 eq. water with the separation of 54 eq. oxygen,	}	Malic Acid.
36 eq. carbonic acid and 18 eq. hydrogen, derived from 18 eq. water with the separation of 54 eq. oxygen,		

36 eq. carbonic acid and 24 eq. hydrogen, derived } Oil of  
from 24 eq. water with the separation of 84 eq. } Turpentine.  
oxygen,

"It will readily be perceived," says Liebig in reference to this table, "that the formation of the acids is accompanied with the smallest separation of oxygen, that the amount of oxygen set free increases with the productions of the so-named neutral substances, and reaches its maximum in the formation of the oils. Fruits remain acid in cold summers, while the most numerous trees under the tropics are those which produce oils, caoutchoucs, and other substances containing very little oxygen. The action of sunshine and influence of heat upon the ripening of the fruit is thus, in a certain measure, represented by the numbers above cited."—*Organic Chemistry*, p. 67.

Every plant, moreover, contains, as an essential part of its composition, nitrogen or azote; and some vegetable principles, as gluten and vegetable albumen, contain it in large quantity. The main source from which plants obtain it is explained in a very satisfactory manner by Liebig. Plants, we know, can grow if placed in pure charcoal, provided they be supplied with rain water. This rain water may be supposed to contain nitrogen in two forms, either as dissolved atmospheric air, or as ammonia. The former of these is improbable; and we have no reason to believe that the nitrogen of the air takes any part in the assimilation of plants. Further, we know that we can increase the nitrogenized portion of a plant—the gluten of wheat, for example—by adding ammonia in the form of manure to the soil, where it is dissolved by the rain water, and absorbed by the roots of the wheat.

But plants are undoubtedly supplied with nitrogen in another manner than that of applied manure. To take an illustration of Liebig's: A farm is cultivated, without any importation of foreign substances containing nitrogen, and corn and cattle (both of course rich in nitrogen) are exported from it in exchange for substances which do not contain nitrogen. Yet the quantity of nitrogen in this farm does not diminish; it even increases. The earth cannot yield it, nor can that which is originally present reproduce itself. Nitrogen must have been in some manner derived from the atmosphere.

Now all decaying animal bodies yield ammonia. To use the words of Liebig, "a generation of a thousand millions of men is renewed every thirty years, and thousands of millions of animals cease to live, and are repro-

duced in a much shorter period. Where is the nitrogen which they contained during life? There is no question which can be answered with more positive certainty. All animal bodies during their decay yield\* the nitrogen which they contain to the atmosphere in the form of ammonia. Both ammonia and all its compounds are very soluble, and it is manifest that every shower of rain water must condense it, and bring it in solution to the earth, and thence to the roots of plants.

Liebig, however, is the first to show that ammonia certainly exists in the air. This he did very satisfactorily. The ammonia obtained by him from rain or snow water had an offensive smell, an evident indication of its animal origin.

The supply of nitrogen, then, to plants is by ammonia, the product of decomposed animal matter, and contained either in the atmosphere, or in the soil in the form of manure.

In addition to these elements, many plants require certain inorganic substances, salts and metallic oxides. Grasses, for instance, contain silicate of potassa, seaweed iodine, sorrel oxalic acid, and so forth. These inorganic substances must be contained in the soil, where dissolved in water, they are applied to and absorbed by the roots of those plants which require them.

Thus we see that the food of vegetables consists of water, oxygen, carbon, hydrogen, and nitrogen, and certain inorganic substances. We see further that these are *selected* by each individual plant according to its wants, and taken into its systems by its lungs and mouths, or its leaves and roots. These various substances, once received into the system of the plant, cease entirely to be governed by their previous mechanical and chemical laws. They acquire peculiar properties termed vital. The observation and generalization of these are the business of the physiologist, as distinguished from the mechanical or chemical philosopher. It is from not attending sufficiently to this distinction, that we are threatened by modern chemists with many erroneous views in physiology.

The wants of mankind require that the knowledge of the above facts, or the philosophy of the food of plants, should be reduced to practical details. This is done by agricul-

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\* He means yield a *part* to the atmosphere.

ture or the art of culture. The constituents of a plant being known, and the various sources from whence these constituents are derived, it is the business of the farmer to provide that the plant which he wishes to grow be not starved, but have a sufficient supply of food. Thus the farmer or gardener supplies water to his crops; thus he ploughs or digs the ground on which young plants (i. e., unprovided at first with leaves) are to be raised, in order that there may be sufficient oxygen present to unite with the decaying humus; thus he analyses the different soils to ascertain if they contain the inorganic matters necessary for the particular plant which he wishes to cultivate, or, if it be not present, he adds it; thus he adds manure to supply nitrogen, or fresh humus to form more carbonic acid. Fallow, interchange of crops, &c., are necessary from analogous principles, into which it is not necessary to enter.

Such is a brief outline of what seems to be ascertained relative to the supply of food to the vegetable kingdom, and for some important parts of it the world is indebted to Liebig. We have only stated as much of his doctrines as appears to us undoubtedly true; and we have dwelt the longer upon the subject, because we conceive that the philosophy of the food of the animal creation should be investigated in a similar manner, and that this is at present the true aim of organic chemistry in relation to physiology. We cannot dwell too often upon the fact, that the explanation of vital phenomena by chemical laws is not only premature but impossible. We may as well explain the formation of Epsom salts, when magnesia and oil of vitriol are mixed together, by gravitation, or the fall of an apple by chemical affinity. We believe that it cannot be too often repeated, that chemical processes and mechanical processes in the living body are subject to the control, not only of chemical and mechanical, but also of vital laws. We suspect that many of the chemical physiologists of the present day forget the fate of many philosophers, both chemical and mechanical, of bygone days, who had the same aspirations as they had, and who failed.

Liebig, however, avows that the vital force, as he calls it, is a "peculiar force, because it exhibits manifestations not to be found in any of the other forces." But there can be no doubt but that many of his school do not sufficiently perceive the distinction. Another error which they

commit, is the perfect indifference which they show to well observed pathological phenomena. Practical physicians have even been obliged to notice this in Liebig himself, and to point out particular instances where pathological facts do not accord with the theories which he lays down.

The theories of Liebig relative to the use of the bile, are perhaps the most original, and certainly not the least ingenious, of the many which can boast of him as a father. We cannot help thinking, however, that, while forming his opinions upon this point, he overlooked some important physiological and pathological facts. Bile, it is well known, is a substance very rich in carbon. Some discrepancy of opinion has been entertained regarding its action; but, before the publication of Liebig's views upon the subject, it was generally agreed that, although it undoubtedly acted as a stimulant to the motions of the intestines, yet that it was an excretion. Any element which has entered into the body, and becomes vitalized, after a time loses its vital properties, and actually becomes poisonous. If not expelled or excreted, it acts as a narcotic poison, and produces death. Carbon is an essential ingredient of the human body, and when any portion of the actually existing carbon of the body becomes unfitted for further use, it is expelled. Physiologists have believed that the organs employed for the expulsion or discharge of it, are the lungs and liver. The former drives out carbonic acid into the atmosphere; the latter discharges bile, which contains some sixty or seventy per cent of carbon, into the small intestines. This view was confirmed by a good many observations. It was remarked by comparative anatomists, that whenever the lungs were small, the liver was large, and vice versa. Thus reptiles with small lungs are possessed of enormous livers; thus the infant before birth has a very large liver, its lungs being of course useless, although when ushered into the world, and beginning to use its lungs, the size of its liver gradually diminishes. These facts seem to show, that the two organs have in this respect the same office. Further, those contents of the small intestines destined for further purposes in the economy, are absorbed by the veins and lacteals. But bile could never be traced in these. This was considered an additional proof that it was destined to be expelled as an excretion. Again, it was observed that, in cases of dis-

ease where bile was not secreted, its retention in the system acted as a deadly poison, just as retained urea, an undoubted excretion, does. Other facts confirm this view of the action of bile, but it is useless to detail them.

According to Liebig, all this is erroneous, and these facts go for nothing, if indeed, which we doubt, he is aware of them. Bile, he thinks, is not an excretion, but is returned into the circulation, where it entirely disappears. Its use is for the carbon to combine with the oxygen taken in at the lungs, and the result of this combination is the animal heat.

The principal reasons assigned for this belief lie in the assumed facts, that in man only a portion, and in *carnivora* none, of the bile can be found in the large intestines. To this it may be answered, that the quantity of bile presumed by Liebig to be secreted is probably grossly exaggerated; and, indeed, he would seem to be aware of this. A horse, for instance, is supposed to secrete daily nearly three stones' weight of bile!! If the statement, that no bile at all is found in the large intestines of *carnivora* (which is, perhaps, somewhat hastily assumed) be correct, the undoubted fact, that none has ever yet been found in either lacteals or veins leading from the intestines, may at least be set against it. When the bile is retained in the system (i. e., not secreted), does the animal heat suffer? No, but the man loses consciousness, and at length dies, because he is not aware of the necessity of breathing, and therefore ceases to do so. We think, in this particular instance, that an impartial critic would prefer the slow and cautious deductions of the old-fashioned physiologist, to the hypothetical theories, however brilliant, of the modern chemist.

Connected with the subject of the bile, Liebig has an ingenious speculation. Bile contains a substance, taurine, which has in its composition a small, a very small proportion of nitrogen. Liebig remarks:

"We shall never certainly be able to discover how men were led to the use of the hot infusion of the leaves of a certain shrub, (tea), or a decoction of certain roasted seeds, (coffee). Some cause there must be which would explain how the practice has become a necessary of life to whole nations. But it is surely more remarkable that the beneficial effects of both plants on the health must be ascribed to one and the same substance, the presence of which in two vegetables belonging to different natural families, and the pro-

duce of different quarters of the globe, could hardly have presented itself to the boldest imagination. Yet recent researches have shown in such a manner as to exclude all doubt that caffeine, the peculiar principle of coffee, and theine, that of tea, are in all respects identical..... Tea and coffee were originally met with in nations whose diet is chiefly vegetable.

"Without entering minutely into the medicinal action of caffeine and theine, it will surely appear a most striking fact, even if we were to deny its influence on the process of secretion, that this substance, with the addition of oxygen and the elements of water, can yield taurine, the nitrogenized compound peculiar to bile..... A similar relation exists in the case of the peculiar principle of asparagus and of althæa, &c. The addition of the elements of water, and of a certain quantity of oxygen, to the elements of theobromine, the characteristic principle of the cacao bean (theobroma cacao) yields the elements of taurine, &c.

"To see how the action of caffeine, asparagine, theobromine, &c., may be explained, we must call to mind that the chief constituent of the bile contains only 3.8 per cent of nitrogen, of which only the half, or 1.9 belongs to the taurine.

"Bile contains in its natural state water and solid matter in the proportion of 80 parts by weight of the former to 10 of the latter. If we suppose these ten parts by weight to be cholic acid with 3.87 of nitrogen, then 100 parts of fresh bile will contain 0.171 parts of nitrogen in the shape of taurine. Now this quantity is contained in 0.6 parts of caffeine, or  $2\frac{8}{10}$  grains of caffeine can give to an ounce of bile the nitrogen it contains in the form of taurine. If an infusion of tea contain no more than the  $\frac{1}{10}$  of a grain of caffeine, still, if it contribute in point of fact to the formation of bile, the action even of such quantity cannot be looked on as a nullity.\* Neither can it be denied that in the case of an excess of non-azotized food, and a deficiency of motion which is required to cause the change of matter in the tissues, and thus to yield the nitrogenized product which enters into the composition of the bile, that in such a condition the health may be benefited by the use of compounds which are capable of supplying the place of the nitrogenized product formed in the healthy state of the body and essential to the production of an important element of respiration."—*Animal Chemistry*, pp. 178-180.

Supposing that bile really is "an element of respiration," this is possible, as it certainly is ingenious. But the consumption of tea and coffee may, we suspect, be explained upon other grounds. A certain quantity of

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\* In these instances, however, very different proportions and quantities of water and oxygen are employed.

moisture or water must be taken into the system every day. In all times nations somewhat civilized have endeavoured not to be obliged to drink pure water only, but water flavoured in some way or other; beer, weak wine, mead, tea, and coffee, are but some of the substitutes for water. Moreover, the great majority of civilized individuals like their drinks to be occasionally hot, and hot water alone is not palatable. Besides, tea and coffee possess a decided action upon the nervous system, aptly described as "cheering, but not inebriating." But if the tea speculation does not convince us, still less do some others which grow out of it, as to the actions of nitrogenized vegetable principles. What these are, the following extract will show:

"With respect to the action of the other nitrogenized vegetable principles, such as quinine, or the alkaloid of opium, &c., which manifests itself not in the processes of secretion, but in different phenomena, physiologists entertain no doubt that it is exerted chiefly on the brain and nerves. This action is commonly said to be dynamic, that is, it accelerates, or retards, or alters in some way the phenomena of motion in animal life. If we reflect that this action is exerted by substances which are material, tangible, and ponderable, that they disappear in the organism, that a double dose acts more powerfully than a single one, and that after a time a fresh dose must be given if we wish to produce the action a second time: all these considerations, viewed chemically, permit only one form of explanation, the supposition, namely, that these compounds, by means of their elements, *take a share in the formation of new, or the transformation of existing brain and nervous matter.*

"However strange the idea may at first sight appear, that the alkaloids of opium and of cinchona bark, the elements of iodine, morphia, quinine, &c., may be converted into constituents of brain and nervous matter, into organs of vital energy, from which the organic motions of the body derive their origin, that these substances form a constituent of that matter, by the removal of which the seat of intellectual life, of sensation, and consciousness is annihilated, it is nevertheless certain that all these forms of power and activity are most chiefly dependant, not only on the existence, but also on a certain quality of the substance of the brain, spinal marrow, and nerves, inasmuch that all the manifestations of the life or vital energy of these modifications of nervous matter which are recognized as the phenomena of motion, sensation, or feeling, assume another form as soon as their composition is altered. The animal organism has produced the brain and nerves out of compounds furnished to it by vegetables, it is the constituents of the food of the animal, which, in consequence of a series of

changes, have assumed the properties and the structure which we find in the brain and nerves."

Such speculations as these, without a particle of evidence to support them, in our opinion, retard the progress of science. Even almost the only thing stated as a physiological fact in the above quotation, that the action of these remedies is, or is supposed to be, dynamic, is not correct. Nor do the "organic motions," as he calls them, depend upon the nervous system.

Assuming that the highly carbonized bile returns into the circulation, Liebig states that its carbon combines with the oxygen of the blood, and that this combination is the source of animal heat. The carbonic acid thus formed, is exhaled at the lungs. He takes some pains to show that animal heat is produced either by muscular contraction, or by nervous influence. In this respect he is undoubtedly right. But we were not aware that any one of consequence was of an opposite opinion. Indeed, since the time of Dr. Black, it has generally been supposed that the union of carbon and oxygen, to form the carbonic acid of the expired breath, is the great source of animal heat. The peculiarity of Liebig's views consists in the supposition that the carbon of the carbonic acid is derived from the bile: (i. e., that, to use his mode of expressing it, it is the carbon of the metamorphosed tissues.) He states, we ought to mention, that the combination of the hydrogen of the bile with oxygen to form water, is, in a small degree, a cause of animal heat. He thinks, however, "that the heat involved in combustion, to which the food is subjected in the body, is amply sufficient to explain the constant temperature of the body, as well as the evaporation from the skin and lungs." He denies the correctness of the deduction, and his reasons for so doing are strong ones, drawn by Despretz, from which it was inferred, that the formation of carbonic acid, or, to use the modern expression, "the mutual chemical relations between the elements of the food and the oxygen of the air," was sufficient to account for a part only of the animal heat. But the deductions of Despretz have been confirmed by Muller and others, and it is moreover extremely probable that *several* of the chemical changes which take place in the blood in the course of the greater circulation, are attended with an evolution of caloric. The deduction drawn by Professor Alison from the evidence upon this subject,

appears to us to be more philosophical than that of Liebig. "It is highly probable," he says, "that the application of oxygen to the blood in respiration is essential to the animal heat, not simply by combining with carbon, and so generating heat, but by adapting the blood for the maintenance of the *various* processes (partly chemical and partly vital) by which it is to be changed in the living body, and of which one of the results is the formation of the carbonic acid which appears in the air."\*

In confirmation of this opinion, he brings forward the fact that the animal heat is not increased by voluntarily quickening or increasing the act of respiration, but that it is by exercise, which, by hastening the circulation, causes an involuntary frequency of respiration. It would seem from this, that animal heat is dependant not simply upon the application of oxygen to the blood, but to the changes which take place in the circulation, to the maintenance of which the oxygenation of the blood is one special condition.

For the necessity of a constant supply of carbon for the maintenance of animal heat, and for the importance of the reception of food rich in it for this purpose, physiology is indebted to the school of modern chemists. According to Liebig, the quantity of carbon nominally given out is exactly equal to that taken in, and the body in a natural state acquires no increase of weight from eating substances rich in carbon, but deficient in nitrogen. If, however, the quantity of oxygen absorbed into the system be less than necessary to combine with all the carbon received into the system in a similar space of time, this excess of carbon is deposited in the form of fat. Hence, he instances that individuals who take much exercise, as the Bedouins, or animals who use much exertion, as tigers, are lean, and free from this deposit; while sedentary men, and stall-fed cattle, are encumbered with it. This is, in some degree, we believe, true; but it is further asserted, that the deposition of fat is abnormal, and does not take place in a healthy man or animal. The words, indeed, used, describing the arm of the Arab, or the flesh of the carnivora,† are such

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\* Outlines of Physiology, p. 232.

† We do not like to grumble overmuch about any production of a man of talent, but we cannot help noticing that tendency to too

as to imply that they are "altogether free from fat." Now the truth is, that fat is as natural and as constantly present in man and other animals as lean is. Its use, perhaps, is not so dignified; but it is indispensable to preserve symmetry and obviate pressure.

In the earliest of Liebig's works are broached the theories of fermentation, putrefaction, and decay, or the theory of metamorphosis. This, as our readers know, is the name given by him to those chemical actions in which a given compound, owing to the pressure of a peculiar substance, resolves itself into two or more new compounds; as, for example, when wort, by the addition of ferment, resolves itself into carbonic acid and beer. The exciting body, or ferment, in all cases of metamorphosis, is invariably a substance in an active state of decomposition, and whose particles are, therefore, in a state of motion. This motion being communicated to the particles of the body to be metamorphorized, overturns their previous equilibrium, never perhaps very steady, and more stable compounds are formed. The doctrine of metamorphosis has, we believe, been generally considered creditable to its author. Since its first appearance, he has applied it to the explanation of many physiological phenomena. This brings us back to the consideration of the philosophy of eating and drinking, from which, however, we have only been apparently wandering.

The *proteine* theory affords several instructive points of view. Fibrin and albumen, the principal constituents of blood, are each mainly composed of carbon, nitrogen, hydrogen, and oxygen, which are moreover combined in the same proportion in each. They differ merely in the proportions exceedingly small of sulphur, phosphorus, and saline matter, which enter into their composition. Mulder

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strong statement which characterizes all Liebig's works. This is particularly objectionable in the exposition of new, and sometimes startling doctrines, and is occasionally very annoying. For instance, (among many similar ones,) in the index there is "carnivora have no fat," a statement notoriously incorrect. On turning to the place referred to, we find that "the flesh of wild animals is devoid of fat," but at the next page, the presence of fat in such animals is admitted, but stated to be "insignificant." Such statements may be of no great consequence, but they certainly tend to give either sceptical or suspicious readers unpleasant notions.

maintained that they were compounds of a substance, to which he gave the name of *proteine*, (and which he stated to be composed of oxygen, hydrogen, nitrogen, and carbon only,) with minute quantities of sulphur, phosphorus, and salts. The various tissues of the body, he further maintained, to be compounds of *proteine* with various substances. According to his views, we may express the composition of the animal solids as follows, P R standing for *proteine*, P for phosphorus, and S for sulphur :

Albumen is  $PR + P + S + \text{salts}$ .

Fibrin is  $PR + P + 2 S + \text{salts}$ .

Arterial Membranes is  $PR + \text{water}$ .

Hartshorn and the like is  $PR + \text{ammonia} + \text{oxygen}$ .

Caseine is  $PR + S + \text{salts, \&c., \&c.}$

Thus the food of the *carnivoræ* consists of compounds of *proteine*, and has the same composition as their bodies. As the blood (or *proteine*) wastes, it is renewed with a fresh supply of *proteine* (or animal food) almost in the same manner as one fills a half empty bottle with water. The nutriment of the *herbivoræ* is more complex; but Liebig thus explains it: All parts of plants which can afford nutriment to animals are rich in nitrogen. The nutritive proximate principles of plants are vegetable fibrin, vegetable albumen, and vegetable caseine. Such are analogous to the same named proximate animal principles, and are therefore composed of *proteine*. It will be observed that, according to this view, plants *produce* *proteine*; and animals, which live either upon them, or upon one another, originally derive their food from vegetables.

The use of sugar and starch in the food of the *herbivoræ*, and of oil, fat, and butter, in that of the *carnivoræ*, and of both vinous and alcoholic drinks in man, all substances rich in carbon, are, according to Liebig, to furnish material for respiration and animal heat. He states, that in the case of the *carnivoræ*, the carbon necessary for their respiration, must be derived from their food, which is analogous to their bodies. Hence their carbon is derived from the waste of their tissues, this waste being made up by their food. In order to furnish in this way enough of carbon to maintain the animal heat, great waste is necessary, and this requires to be accelerated by motion. This is, he thinks, the cause of the restlessness of this class of

animals, and which is to be remarked in tigers confined in a menagerie.

Liebig is further of opinion, that when proteine and its compounds are taken into the stomach, they meet with gastric juice, which is, he thinks, a substance in a state of transformation, (like yeast.) This acts as a ferment, the food ferments, its particles are grouped in a new manner, and chyme is formed; just as beer, by the aid of yeast, is obtained from wort. And this, he thinks, is done quite independently of the vitality of the digestive organs. It is merely an instance of chemical transformation.

The first part of this theory, the existence of proteine, and its presence in both animal and vegetable fibrin, albumen, and caseine, we owe to Mulder, who ascertained it, according to the Liebig of 1843, by "exact and careful analysis." The latter part is Liebig's own; indeed, he is somewhat given to adopting the discoveries of another, and by adding to it much that is novel, giving the impression, that nearly, if not all that is of any value in them, is his.

We suspect, however, that few physiologists will be found willing to believe that digestion is not a vital process very different from fermentation. A process so much under the control of mental emotion, is surely something very different from the bubblings in a brewer's vat. Most physiologists will, we think, be of opinion that this part of the theory is but the revival of an old and exploded one.

When we first read the proteine theory, we considered it possible. We do not believe that organic chemistry in its present state can assert any thing of this kind for certain and undoubted fact. Now, however, in 1848, Liebig declares that the whole hypothesis is false, that albumen, fibrin, &c., are not, as stated by Mulder, compounds of proteine, and that, in fact, a body having the appearances described by Mulder, cannot be obtained by Mulder's method. Mulder has written a very angry letter, maintaining, that all this is said by Liebig from jealousy, and giving the baron any thing but an amiable character. This letter has, we suspect, caused the world to be favoured with "*Researches into the Chemistry of Food*" somewhat earlier than it otherwise would have been. The first fifth of it is taken up with writing at Mulder. The tone of this part is somewhat different from what we have been accustomed to. The abuse and sneers previously bestowed upon physiologists and physiology, is now

reserved for organic chemists and organic chemistry, which is declared to have made no progress in its most important part, the constitution of the blood, for forty years, and the "exact and careful analysis" of 1843 becomes in 1848 "most frivolous experiment."

Besides the "showing up" of Mulder, however, the "Researches into the Chemistry of Food" contain an account of some very interesting and important researches into the chemical constituents of flesh made by Liebig, who has certainly no reason to be jealous of any other chemist. It has long been known that the flesh of newly-killed animals contains a free acid, which was considered to be lactic acid. In 1835, Chevreul discovered a peculiar substance, which he called kreatine, in flesh; but as other chemists failed in procuring it, it was considered an accidental ingredient. Liebig determined to give the subject a thorough investigation. He has succeeded in procuring kreatine from the flesh of a variety of animals, and he finds that it is in greater quantity in the flesh of wild than in that of confined animals, and he thinks that it bears an obvious relation to the amount of fat, being by far more abundant in lean animals than in fat ones. From eighty-six pounds of beef, he obtained about thirty grammes of kreatine. It is neither acid nor basic.

Kreatine, upon being heated in contact with strong mineral acids, has its elements transformed, and a new substance, to which the name of kreatinine has been given by Liebig, is procured. This he regards as a true organic alkali. Farther, if kreatine be treat with crystalized hydrate of baryta, another transformation takes place, and a new organic base, sarcosine, is formed. Besides kreatine, Liebig has also discovered in flesh a new organic acid, on which he bestows the name of inosinic acid. He also procured lactic acid. Of the inorganic constituents of flesh, the alkaline salts preponderate, and these salts are phosphates and chlorides. We had marked for quotation two passages on the purposes which lactic acid and phosphate of soda fulfil in the economy; but we forbear from quoting hypothesis, which, however ingenious, really seem to us anything but firmly established. We prefer making two extracts, the one relating to boiling meat, and the other to salting it.

He thus describes the best method of boiling beef where no soup is required :

"If the flesh intended to be eaten be introduced into the boiler when the water is in a state of brisk ebullition, and if the boiling be kept up for some minutes, then so much cold water added as to reduce the temperature of the water to 165° or 158° and the whole kept at this temperature for some hours, all the conditions are united which give to the flesh the quality best adapted to its use as food.

"When it is introduced into the boiling water, the albumen immediately coagulates from the surface inwards, and in this state forms a crust or shell which no longer permits the external water to penetrate into the interior of the flesh. But the temperature is gradually transmitted to the interior and there effects the conversion of the raw flesh into the state of boiled or roasted meat. The flesh retains its juiciness and is quite as agreeable to the taste as it can be made by roasting, for the chief part of the sapid constituents of the mass is retained under these circumstances in the flesh.

"If we reflect that the albumen of the juice of flesh begins to coagulate at a temperature of 105.5°, and that it is completely coagulated at 140°, (Berzelius) it might be supposed that it would not be necessary in the cooking of flesh to expose it to a higher temperature than 140°. But at that temperature the colouring matter of the blood is not yet coagulated, the flesh indeed is eatable, but when it contains blood, it acquires under these circumstances a bloody appearance, which it only loses when it has acquired throughout the whole mass a temperature of 150° to 158°.

"In the interior of a very large piece of flesh which has been boiled or roasted, we can tell with certainty the temperature attained in the different parts by the colours which they present. At all those parts which appear bloody, the temperature has not reached 144°. In the boiling or roasting of poultry, the flesh of which is white and contains little blood, the temperature of the inner parts, when the flesh has been well cooked, seldom exceeds 130° or 140°. The flesh of poultry or game is therefore sooner drest (ready or done as it is called) than flesh which contains much blood, such as beef or mutton."—pp. 126, 127.

The following are some of his remarks regarding salting meat:

"It is universally known, that in the salting of meat the flesh is rubbed and sprinkled with dry salt, and that where the salt and meat are in contact, a brine is formed, amounting in bulk to 1.3rd. of the fluid contained in the raw flesh.

"I have ascertained that this brine contains the chief constituents of a concentrated soup or infusion of meat, and that therefore, in the process of salting the composition of the flesh is changed, and this too in a much greater degree than occurs in boiling. \* \* \* \*

"It is now easy to understand that in the salting of meat, when this is pushed so far as to produce the brine above-mentioned, a number of substances are withdrawn from the flesh which are essential to its constitution, and that it therefore loses in nutritive quality in proportion to this abstraction. If these substances be not supplied from other quarters, it is obvious that a part of the flesh is converted into an element of respiration, certainly not conducive to good health. It is certain, moreover, that the health of a man cannot be permanently sustained by means of salted meat if the quantity be not greatly increased, inasmuch as it cannot perfectly replace by the substance it contains those parts of the body which have been expelled in consequence of the change of matter, nor can it preserve in its normal state the fluid distributed in every part of the body, namely, the juices of the flesh."—pp. 134, 135.

We cannot help thinking that the present state of our knowledge regarding the aliment of man can be expressed in simpler terms than it has hitherto been. The human frame may be regarded as a congeries of a few of the elementary bodies of nature; but which bodies, in a chemical point of view, are precisely similar to those forming parts of inorganic matter, rocks, earth, stones, and the like. The instant, however, any of these elements become part of the human body, they become endowed with vitality, and fit to perform those peculiar functions and actions which we term vital. None of these elements, however, are capable of remaining long in this state, and they soon become incapable of performing these vital actions. They may be said to die, and portions of us do die daily, and require to be cast away from the system as useless. Thus the lungs and the liver excrete carbon, thus the kidneys excrete nitrogen, phosphorus, soda, &c., thus the lungs excrete also oxygen, and so forth. This constant death of particles of our bodies demands a constant renewal of the elements of which we are composed, and this, during healthy life, is frequently done. If from disease it be not, the whole frame perishes; so likewise does it if the system loses its power of controlling the chemical and mechanical properties of its elements and of imparting vitality to them.

Perhaps the most convenient plan is to consider whatever elementary body is necessary for the support of the healthy state of the body as food. In this view the lungs and the stomach are the two organs which receive the elements of which the body stands in need. Whatever is taken into the latter, is, by a peculiar or vital process, vital-

ized, and is then poured into the blood by the channel of a vessel in the thorax. The elements the lungs select are added immediately to the blood in them. Moreover, it is a law of nature that the vital action of assimilation, as well as other vital actions, cannot go on without the presence of water.

It remains, then, to consider where to obtain water; next, to enquire of what elements is the body composed; and, lastly, as these elements are continually being rejected from the body, to ascertain where a fresh supply of each of them is to be obtained.

Water is, as every one knows, most abundantly supplied to us, and forms a large portion of what, under the direction of our appetites, we take as food and drink. Besides drinking it in its uncombined state, it constitutes a very large portion of our ordinary drinks—wine, infusions of tea and coffee, and the like. Moreover, it forms a large proportion of the substance of vegetables, fruit, and flesh. Water is indeed indispensable to us, but nature has taken every precaution that we shall not be in want of it.

The human body consists mainly of nitrogen, oxygen, hydrogen, and carbon. Other elements—as phosphorus, sulphur, sodium, &c.—enter into its constitution in very small proportions.

Man derives a great part of his nitrogen from the flesh of animals. Substances derived from animals—as eggs, cheese, or milk—also contain it. As before mentioned, the vegetable principles, vegetable gluten, albumen, and caseine, also have nitrogen in their composition, and contain about fifteen per cent of it. As wheat and the other cerealæ are rich in gluten, they afford a large supply of nitrogen, and hence have become important articles of food. Further, it is possible that a portion of the nitrogen of the atmosphere is absorbed for assimilation by the lungs.

By the process of respiration, a large quantity of oxygen is regularly and frequently taken into the system. Moreover, there are few articles of food which do not contain more or less of this element, and if water, as is probable, be decomposed in the system, we have another abundant source of oxygen.

So, also, do most articles of food contain hydrogen; and, as every one knows, supposing water to be decomposed, hydrogen would be abundantly supplied to the economy.

The wants of the system require daily a large supply of carbon. There is no doubt but that, when the animal temperature becomes low, we can raise it by administering additional carbon. Many of the articles of food which nature dictates to us to use, are rich in it. Animal fat, and butter, vegetable oil, starch, gum, and sugar are instances. Another abundant dietetical source of carbon, is the product of the fermentation of grape or other sugar—wine, spirits, beer, &c. Very absurd statements are sometimes made by wandering lecturers and the like to the effect that these liquids contain no *nourishment*, as they term it, and are therefore of no use in the economy. By nourishment they seem to understand nitrogen, as if the body did not require as constant a supply of the other ingredients composing it as of azote. Indeed, were we unaware of the chemical nature and composition of alcoholic drinks, we might be sure, from the antiquity and invariability of their use, that they were a means of supplying some natural want. The manner in which nature guides man to another source of carbon when one fails him, is very interesting. The Hindoo, for example, who takes neither much animal fat nor wine, consumes a large quantity of rice. We have another curious instance nearer home. Those who from habit or principle are members of temperance societies, to satisfy a craving of nature, eat a great deal of heavy (fatty) pastry and sweet cakes; so also do children and many females, while men, who habitually consume a quantity of wine, rarely partake of these supplies of carbon.

The phosphorus, the sulphur, the sodium, and the other elements which enter into the constitution of the human body, are required in very small quantities, and are constituents of articles of food which are rich in one of the four more important elements. These it is not necessary to particularize. It is important to observe that, *as a general rule*, the elements necessary for the human body cannot be assimilated by the digestive organs, unless they have formed part of a previously existing vital structure, animal or vegetable.

The above remarks apply to the *nutrition*, or nutritive property, of various articles of food. Their *digestibility*, or the relative ease and rapidity with which they are assimilated, is another and very important question in dietetics. This is much under the control of idiosyncrasy and

of habit, and by repetition articles of food, at first more or less indigestible, become easy of digestion.

Our lengthening columns, however, bid us draw these desultory remarks to a conclusion. In the profound chemical research and knowledge, and of the original genius of Liebig, no one is a firmer believer than ourselves. But we cannot disguise from ourselves the firm conviction that vital processes cannot be explained by the laws which govern dead matter. The history of medicine is full of instances of the futility of attempting it. Medicine is so connected with many other physical sciences, and its professors so much led to cultivate them, that ever and anon medical men, who have become attached to some particular science, have endeavoured by its rules to explain vital phenomena. In this way physiological and pathological actions have been attempted to be explained by the laws of chemistry, of mechanics, and of mathematics; but the attempts have always ended in nothing. We believe that the physiologist, making the proper use of the discoveries of the organic chemist, will improve his science; but we are also of opinion, that the improper application of chemistry to physiology will but end in disappointment.

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ART. IX.—*Die Reformation : ihre innere Entwicklung, und ihre Wirkungen.* (The Reformation : its interior Development and its Effects.) By J. DÖLLINGER, 3 vols. 8vo. Ratisbon, 1846-8.

WHEN the lion in the fable, saw the picture of a brother-lion subdued by a man, he contented himself with observing that "if lions were painters, the figures would be reversed." The royal critic, in this observation, unconsciously enounced one of the fundamental principles of the philosophy of history. It is an established rule in historical criticism, to consider whether the evidence advanced in favour of any disputable statement, be the evidence of a friend or of an enemy; and to regard with suspicion, if not with absolute unbelief, the testimony of a writer who shall be proved to be a partisan on the matter upon which his testimony is produced.

Nor is there any department of history in which this caution is so indispensable, as the history of the Church, especially during periods of more than ordinary excitement. There are very few of the contemporary historians of the Reformation, either upon the Catholic or the Protestant side, upon whose unsupported statement it will be found safe to rely uniformly and implicitly; and, at all events, whatever may be the *objective* veracity of the several historians of this important period, so strongly are men impressed with the belief that absolute impartiality on such a subject is entirely beyond human attainment, that a favourable testimony from a Protestant writer, or an unfavourable one from a Catholic, is sure to be received, if not with hesitation and distrust, or at least with considerable deduction for the prejudice of the writer, to whichever party he may chance to belong. Hence it has always been a principal object with the historian, Catholic or Protestant, as the case might be, to strengthen his view of the subject by evidence from "the other side;" and to regard his statement as comparatively incomplete, except in so far as it relied upon such authority.

The elaborate and voluminous publication now before us, is an attempt to carry out this principle to its fullest extent, by composing a Catholic history of the Reformation exclusively from Protestant sources. If there be any single writer of the present day, in whose hand this bold and novel attempt might reasonably be hoped to prove successful, we cannot hesitate to say that Dr. Dollinger is that man. His various and most accurate erudition, his indefatigable industry, his clear and comprehensive perception, above all, his singularly acute and critical judgment, fit him for such a task, beyond any historian of his own or any other country. Those of our readers who know Dr. Dollinger only from the results of his research, as displayed in his compendium of Ecclesiastical History, and who are in the habit of estimating a writer's learning by the number of references which figure at the foot of his pages, may not perhaps be disposed to subscribe to this judgment in its widest extent. The truth is, that Dr. Dollinger has done himself great injustice, and has materially weakened the authority of his work, by his unwillingness to overload with references, a book intended chiefly for popular reading; and it is only after examining a few chapters of his history carefully and minutely, and

after searching deliberately the original authorities on which they are compiled, that a true idea can be formed of its real character, and of the long and painful labour which its composition involved. A few simple and unpretending paragraphs will often be found to comprise the pith of a controversy on which volumes have been expended; and many a statement put forward without pretension and parade, turns out, upon examination of the authorities, to be the result only of a long, irksome, and perplexing critical investigation. We have always considered the absence of these authorities as a serious drawback, not alone on the character, but also on the usefulness of Dr. Döllinger's otherwise invaluable history; but it is only after having carefully compared him with many other historians—after having had occasion to pass over, in many instances, the same ground which he had traversed—and after discovering how little light, in most instances, it was possible, from the most minute personal investigation, to throw upon the facts which he contented himself with stating in the briefest outline;—that we have come, on one hand, to know the full value of his work as a summary of Church History, and on the other, to regret the suppression, however well intended, of authorities which it must have cost so much labour to examine and compare.

The present publication, though a perfectly independent one, is nevertheless an off-set of the author's general History of the Church. He states in his preface, that the idea of a separate work on the History of the Reformation, was first suggested by the voluminousness of the materials which presented themselves to him in the course of his researches for the preparation of his general History. How varied and extensive these researches must have been, might be collected even from a bare enumeration of the authors who are cited in the course of the two thousand closely printed pages which these massive volumes comprise: but this would, after all, furnish an exceedingly imperfect idea of the author's labour. These three volumes are confined exclusively to the History of the Reformation in Germany. He has passed over, for the present, that portion of the subject which is connected with the movement in the other countries of Europe; but we may conclude that it has received a proportionate share of his attention: and the writer of these pages is enabled to state of his own knowledge, that, on the origin and progress of

the Reformation in England, and even in Ireland, Dr. Döllinger's minute and singularly accurate information, and his acquaintance with all the rarest sources of our post-reformation history, would put to the blush the industry and research even of the most learned and accomplished of our native ecclesiastics.

It is impossible, therefore, at a period like the present, to overrate the value of such a work, from a pen so eminently fitted for the task. The work of Merle d'Aubigné, unsubstantial and declamatory as it is, has been circulated so widely and read so universally, that it is time to present the reverse of the picture; and it cannot be denied, that the various criticisms and rejoinders which it has called forth, however solid and satisfactory to a Catholic reader, lose all, or nearly all, their weight with a Protestant critic, when he discovers their too often careless and uncritical character; when, for instance, he finds among the authorities alleged for their most vital statements, the names of such sturdy partisans of Catholicity as Eck, or Cochläus, or Köllin, or Wimpina; or even the less suspicious evidence of Dietenberg, Anspach, Dungersheim, or Mensing. These, and all such as these, are excluded from Dr. Döllinger's pages. No Catholic,\* however unimpeached his impartiality, is alleged by him in his roll of witnesses; it is entirely and exclusively Protestant; it embraces almost all the leading names of the reforming party; and his work may therefore fairly be regarded as a picture of this great event, sketched by the hands of those whom interest, affection, prejudice, and zeal of party, would have prompted to suppress all its repulsive and disfiguring elements, or at least to soften their harshness, and to place them in the furthest and least noticeable shadow of the background.

There is one suspicion to which, at first sight, such an attempt is undoubtedly liable. The selection of authorities may be made in an uncritical and indiscriminating, or even in an unfair and dishonest spirit. Passages may be mutilated, or garbled, or adapted to suit the compiler's purpose.

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\* Erasmus, and a few of those who, after embracing the Reformation, returned to the Church before their death, should perhaps be mentioned as exceptions to this statement. But authorities such as these, can hardly be said to differ in principle from the purely Protestant.

Isolated and incidental statements may be presented as substantive and independent; admissions made by a writer with a definite view, and qualified either in express words, or by the circumstances themselves, may be taken out of their context, and put forward as unquestioned and unqualified allegations. In a word, the ignorance, the illfaith, the indiscriminating judgment, of the compiler, may abuse, under the shield of an apparently genuine and honest reference, the license which his character as an accredited compiler affords; and even, while he literally fulfils all his engagements, and adheres to the very words and letters of extracts, may make them speak a very different language, and convey a very different impression from that which, in the integrity of their originals, they are calculated to produce. No one who has dealt much in the verification of authorities, will have any difficulty in understanding the abuse to which we allude. We may promise, however, that of this there is no fear in the pages of Dr. Döllinger. We do not of course pretend to say that we have regularly and systematically examined the enormous mass of authorities which his work contains. Many of his sources are of such a nature, that it would not be possible for us to test the accuracy of his citations. A considerable number are manuscript, and are found only in the noble collection of the Royal Library of Munich, of which he has for years had unlimited control. A large proportion, too, are from rare and almost unknown tracts and publications of the period to which they refer. Many of the authors are hardly known even by name in these countries. But the accuracy of those citations which we have had occasion to verify, is to us an abundant guarantee for the fidelity of the rest; and, indeed, the very copiousness of the extracts from each author, and the full and frequent analysis of the scope and object of the work which is cited, would in themselves be a security against most of the perils to which we have alluded above. Indeed, there is much less danger of distorting an author's meaning, or at least of warping the objective historical truth which his statement regards, where (as in history) there is question of facts, than where (as in polemics) there is question of opinions. An opinion, however generally and unreservedly it may seem to be announced, may yet be qualified by a subsequent restriction or limitation. But a fact being once stated, no subsequent qualification will affect its objective truth,

however it may alter and modify the writer's inferences from it, or his application of it to the subject which he is considering.

The reader will easily anticipate that it is not our purpose to enter into a full and minute account of this most elaborate publication. We trust that there will be found among our German scholars some one with courage and perseverance to undertake a complete translation.\* We can only hope, for the present, to offer a brief and general description of its contents, and a summary of the principal conclusions suggested by its perusal.

The three volumes of which it consists, have appeared at separate intervals;—the first in 1846, and the last in the spring of the present year. They contain, as we have already observed, about two thousand octavo pages; and, under the hands of a book-making publisher, would have easily extended to a third more than their present dimensions. The third volume, which regards, almost exclusively, the history of the Lutheran doctrine of justification, may almost be regarded as an independent work, and is so exceedingly important, that we shall endeavour to return to it in a separate article. For the present, therefore, we shall confine ourselves to the two first volumes.

Perhaps, indeed, Dr. Dollinger's title may be calculated to create a false impression as to the nature of the work. It is not so much a Protestant history of the Reformation, as a Protestant character of its origin and its effects. It does not follow any fixed chronological order, nor does it discuss in detail the successive stages of the reformation. It is rather a collection of judgments and opinions regarding this great movement, and the state of society under its influence, drawn up by those who were best acquainted with all its workings, and who had the deepest interest in concealing its defects. That the witnesses on whom the author relies are impartially selected—that they do not represent any particular class of doctrines among the reformers, but may be fairly taken as the representative of the reformation itself—will be at once evident even from the catalogue of their names. The authors cited in the two first volumes only, amount to more than three hundred; they are all contemporaries of

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\* Since the above was written, it has been actually undertaken.

the Reformation ; all were themselves actively, and many of them prominently, engaged in the movement ; and the list includes every class in society—lay, as well as clerical, preachers, doctors in divinity, professors, essayists, jurists, statesmen—and every shade of religious belief, from the iron orthodoxy of the father of the Reformation himself, down to the wildest vagaries of Hetzer, or Gaspar Schwenckfeld.

The work may, therefore, be briefly described as a practical commentary on the working of the great experiment in religion, morality, and social order, which was undertaken in the sixteenth century ;—its progress and its results being noted and registered, not merely by men who were witnesses of all its phenomena, but by the very individuals with whom it originated, and who were themselves the agents by whom it was carried out. The catalogue will be found to contain many names unfamiliar to the English reader. Indeed, we know as yet, in this country, very little of the details of the working of the Reformation in Germany. But the inconvenience which might be anticipated in this circumstance, has been anticipated and obviated by Dr. Döllinger, who has, generally speaking, prefixed to the testimonies from each author, a short, but, in most cases, exceedingly graphic and satisfactory, sketch of his life, his writings, and especially of his religious history.

The name of the Reformation sufficiently indicates the object which the originators of the movement proposed to themselves ; the mission which they boasted and undertook to execute ; and the point of view in which they regarded the existing Church, as well as that purer and better society which they professed to substitute in its stead. In the popular views of the period put forward by them, the existing Church was held to be irretrievably fallen and corrupted, infected, even to death, in its head and in its members ; an apostate from the doctrine, as well as from the practice of christianity ; and an outcast, not only from the spirit and the virtue, but also from the gifts, the hopes, and the privileges, of the gospel. To wipe away the stain of this apostacy, and to restore men to their forfeited inheritance ; to enlighten the darkness in which they were sunk ; to call back to earth the spirit which the degeneracy and the crimes of Rome had driven from the Church ; to reanimate the faith which had lain dead for ages ; to revive purity of

doctrine and holiness of life in the world; in a word, to bring back the early glories of christianity, and all its precious, but forgotten, privileges;—these were the least of the pretensions which the professors of the new learning put forward, and by which they drew crowds to the standard of revolt. “Let us restore the Gospel!” was at once their boast, their promise, and their rallying-cry.

To determine, therefore, how far these lofty pretensions were fulfilled by the event; to what extent the Reformers succeeded in driving away from the world the corruption and depravity in which the old “apostate Church” had plunged it; how far they dispelled the ignorance by which they found the earth overspread, and the corruption in which they declared it to be steeped;—in a word, to compare the promise with the fulfilment, the anticipation with the result; to see how much the world became better, purer, more enlightened, more observant of the gospel;—these may be briefly stated to be the objects of Dr. Döllinger’s enquiry. And these he investigates solely from the evidence supplied by the parties themselves.

A portion of the first volume is occupied with the testimonies of a peculiar and very important class of witnesses—we allude to the many eminent writers of the sixteenth century, (several of them close and confidential friends of the leading Reformers,) who, after having for a time joined in the movement, and even urged it forward with all their power, withdrew from it in the end, from disgust at its violence, or conviction of the falsehood and hollowness of the pretensions which it put forward. It may, perhaps, be alleged that such evidence cannot be considered disinterested; that it must necessarily take a colour from the disappointed hopes and embittered feelings of its authors; and that the very vacillation and inconstancy of character which it betrays, must detract from the authority which might otherwise attach to it. Now we have no intention of placing the evidence of these men upon the same footing with that of the purely Protestant writers, (to which, indeed, it bears but a small proportion); but we regard the fact itself as of the very utmost importance. It is no small argument, as well of the intrinsic weakness and hollowness of the Reform, as of the vitality and recuperative power of the Church, that, even in a period of excitement like that to which we refer—at a time when the whole current of popular (and in Germany, of princely) favour was with the

reforming movement,—while the charm of novelty was still fresh, and the experiment still presented all the attraction inseparable from its boldness and originality ;—there were nevertheless found many, and these of the highest eminence, who, after having committed themselves fully to the cause, and embarked in it all their hopes and all their interests,—position, reputation, fortune, family, friends,—were yet driven, by a thorough conviction of the wrongfulness of the course which they had hitherto pursued, and of the fatal consequences to which it had already led, to return to the Church which they had abandoned, even (not to speak of more substantial sacrifices) at the risk of incurring the imputation of weakness, cowardice, and inconsistency.—The value of such evidence for Dr. Döllinger's purpose will be fully understood, when it is recollected that his list comprises not alone such men as Staupitz, or Erasmus, but still more avowed and unmistakable partisans of the Reformation, like Witzel,\* Haner, Zasius, Wildenauer, Billicanus, Amerpach, and Pirkheimer.—The last-named had taken so prominent a part in it from the very commencement, that his name was included by Eck in the first excommunication issued against Luther ; and, though he obtained absolution, after an appeal to Leo X, yet he continued, even after Luther's condemnation, to vindicate and uphold him, and to forward his views with all the influence which he was able to command.

Witzel's account of the motives by which he himself was seduced into the movement, may perhaps be taken as representing the general feeling of his class. He was "first attracted," he writes, "by the universal applause with which the new doctrines seemed to be received ; the sympathy of the learned drew him on ; the very novelty of the opinions excited him ; the apparent foul abuses which overspread the face of the Church drove him into the ranks of her rival ; the hopes which were held out of the revival of a purer Christianity completed the conquest ; † and he was secured in his allegiance by the sweet liberty which it proposed to him, and the immunity from the practice of good works which it was understood to imply." ‡

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\* Better known by his Latinized name, *Wicelius*.

† Vol. i. p. 18.

‡ Vol. i. p. 19.

Amerpach, a native of Wemdingen, and one of the most eminent scholars of his time, was attracted to Wittenberg by the love of the new truth of which he believed this city to be the centre and seat; and his return to the Church, and the testimony which this event may be supposed to render to her, are the more interesting from the fact that it took place while he was in constant communication and daily intercourse with Luther, Melancthon, Justus Jonas, Cruciger, and Bugenhagen; and that, even according to their own representation, the step was taken after long and laborious research, careful examination of the Fathers, and diligent study of the theologians.\* Haner, too, had early embraced the Lutheran opinions, and had entered warmly into all the successive steps of the movement. He was in close and intimate correspondence with all the leading members of the party, and renounced rich and valuable preferments in the Church, for the purpose of joining them. But when, as he himself declares, "he saw the true tendency of the movement; the actual fruits of this false and corrupt gospel; when he found that *never, under the name of Christian, had the faith of the world been more unregulated, or its morals more licentious*; that never, at any previous period, had there simultaneously arisen so many sects, of so horrible a character, and of such prodigious impiety; that under the standard of that most fatal doctrine—Justification by Faith alone—not only had all the discipline of the Church been relaxed, but all penance towards God, and charity towards men, had been abolished;"†—when such results as these opened his eyes to the truth, he did not hesitate to withdraw, although his return to the Church drew upon him a storm of abuse, which those only who are read in the polemic literature of that age, can fairly appreciate.

We do not mean, however, to dwell upon the evidence of these men; nor upon that of an equally important class, of which many startling specimens are now before us—namely, the various separatists of the sixteenth century, who, starting with the early Reformers from one common point, and guided like them by the great fundamental law of private interpretation, either outstripped them in the race of innovation, or turned aside into some peculiar path,

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\* Vol. i. p. 157.

† Vol. i. p. 128.

diverging as widely from the course selected by the general body of the Reformers, as from the olden road of authority which both in common had deserted. If the Reformation be judged by their evidence, we shall indeed fear for its reputation. "The world," they\* tell us, "has always been an evil tree; but never has it borne such ill fruit as in these days. Christendom is fuller than ever of adulterers, usurers, and drunkards." "All the crimes," writes another,† "which were in the world in the days of Noah and Lot, are now in full career." "The majority, both of preachers and hearers," adds a third,‡ "know less of God than the papists; for they are whoremongers, drunkards, blasphemers, slanderers, covetous, and the like." "The word of God," declares another,§ "is preached loudly enough in your temples; but I do not see that you are one whit better, nay there is even more avarice, more occasion of every fleshly licentiousness." "Nothing that we do prospers," another|| is forced to exclaim; "our teaching is without benediction, our ministering without spirit, our sacraments without grace." And even Agricola¶ is driven to admit that "whether it be true or not, that the consequence of the teaching of the Lutheran gospel now-a-days is heathenism, epicureanism, and violence, inasmuch as all faith, charity, purity, honesty, godliness, piety, virtue, and fear of God, have disappeared both among old and young; it is, at all events, evident from their fruits, that, as the Prophet Osee says, there is no truth, no love, no word of God, in the land;" and he adds it as his deliberate opinion, that among the Lutherans of his day, there prevails such "heathenish barbarism of life," that what all the world accuses them of, viz:—"that with them sin is no longer sin—is fully verified."

Now, even making the largest allowance for the prejudices which the mere fact of separation would seem to imply, it is impossible not to feel that the state of things which could justify *any approach* to such a picture, (though it were an exaggerated one), must have been shocking in the last degree. No wonder after this, that, in meeting the attacks of the Anabaptists upon the notorious corruption

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\* Johann Denk, cited, vol. i. p. 196. † Sebastian Frank, p. 191.

‡ Johann Eberlin, p. 208.

§ Eoban Hesse, p. 216.

|| Krautwald, p. 272.

¶ Ib. p. 274.

and profligacy of his church, Justus Menius was obliged to have recourse to the "secret and hidden [heimlichen und verborgenen] fruits of the gospel!"\* Nor can we any longer be surprised even at the blasphemous, and otherwise incredible, extravagance to which Luther resorted, when he turned even this profligacy of his followers into an argument of their divine mission, and described it as "no slender mercy of God!" "It is no slight grace on God's part," he writes in his "*Letter to Two Anabaptist Preachers*," [1528], "that He gives us His word through profligate and godless men also. Nay, it is in some sense *more dangerous when He gives it through the ministry of holy, than of unholy, men*; for in the former case, men depend more on the holiness of men than on God's word, and thus there is more honour given to men than to the word of God; of which there is no danger when it is preached by a Judas, a Caiaphas, or a Herod."†

It is not without difficulty we pass from this curious and most important branch of Dr. Döllinger's enquiry; but if we hope to give any idea of the really interesting portion of his work, we must resist the temptation of dwelling longer here. We proceed, therefore, to the purely protestant, indeed, we may say, purely Lutheran witnessess; for such is the fertility of the subject, that he has confined himself almost exclusively to them. Although the extracts from the various authorities are arranged without any classification of subjects, under the heads of their respective authors, we prefer to classify under distinct heads those which we shall select as a sample of the entire, bearing in mind the general objects already specified, which the author proposes to himself in his inquiry.

We shall begin with

I. *The moral Results of the Reformation.* Upon this head few will be disposed to call in question the authority of our first evidence, the Father of the Reformation himself.

With all his partiality for the child of his own labours, Luther is forced to admit, † that it were no wonder if his

\* p. 214. † Luther's Werke, (Walch's edit.) vol. xvii. p. 2675.

† Döllinger, vol. i. p. 312. It would be tedious to transcribe the references to the several authors cited by Dr. Döllinger. We must be content with the page of his own work, where the reader will find the references most fully and accurately given.

beloved Germany "were sunk in the earth, or utterly overthrown by the Turks and Tartars, by reason of the hellish and damnable forgetfulness and contempt of God's grace which the people manifest; nay, that the wonder is, that the earth does not refuse to bear them, and the sun to shine upon them any longer." He doubts "whether it should any longer be called a world, and not rather an abyss of all evils, wherewith those sodomites afflict his soul and his eyes both day and night."\* "Everything is reversed," he laments, "the world grows every day the worse for this teaching; and the misery of it is, that *men are nowadays more covetous, more hardhearted, more corrupt, more licentious, and more wicked, than of old under the papacy.*"† "Our evangelicals," he avows, "are now sevenfold more wicked than they were before. In proportion as we hear the gospel, we steal, lie, cheat, gorge, swill, and commit every crime. If one devil has been driven out of us, seven worse ones have taken their place, to judge from the conduct of princes, lords, nobles, burgesses, and peasants, their utterly shameless acts, and their disregard of God and of his menaces."‡ "Under the papacy, men were charitable and gave freely; but now, under the gospel, all almsgiving is at an end, every one fleeces his neighbour, and each seeks to have all for himself. And the longer the gospel is preached, the deeper do men sink in avarice, pride, and ostentation."§ So utterly, too, does he despair of the improvement of this generation of his disciples, that he "often wishes that *these filthy swine-bellies were back again under the tyranny of the pope*, for it is impossible that a race so savage, such a 'people of Gomorrha,' could be ruled by the peaceful consolations of the gospel."

It could hardly be expected, indeed, that Luther would himself attribute the universal depravity, the presence of which he thus frankly acknowledges, to the influence of his own gospel. But he cannot, and does not conceal, that such was the popular impression regarding it; and although, of course, he denounces the imputation as sinful and blasphemous, he admits that men "loudly and complainingly attributed it all to the gospel, or, as they call it, the new

\* Vol. i. 308.

† Vol. i. 297.

‡ Page 285.

§ Page 327.

*learning*,"\* and tauntingly demanded what was the good of all their fine preaching and instruction, if no one followed it, or was the better for it, nay rather, if they grew worse than they were before; "it would be better," they said, "if things had remained as they were."† Indeed, not to multiply evidence of a fact so notorious, he himself acknowledges that "the peasants, through the influence of 'the gospel,' have become utterly beyond restraint, and think they may do what they please. They no longer fear either hell or purgatory, but content themselves with saying, 'I believe, therefore I shall be saved:' and they become proud, stiff-necked Mammonists, and accursed misers, sucking the very substance of the country and the people."‡

These are but a few out of a host of similar avowals, which Dr. Döllinger has collected from every portion of Luther's works. Lest it should be supposed they are confined to the earlier years of the Reformation, and regard only the state of the Lutheran body in the first phases of its formation, we shall venture, even at the risk of being tedious, to select a few passages written during the last years of his life, not a whit less expressive than those already produced. During the years 1540-6, Lutheranism may be truly said to have reached its culminating point, as far as regards the career of its founder. In a letter of his written to Hermann Bonn, (April 5, 1543), he expresses his exultation at the completeness of his success—"From Riga to Metz—from the foot of the Alps to the north point of the peninsula of Jutland"—his realm had been gradually extended. The number of crowned heads and of sovereign princes now in his following, was very great, and later years had notably increased the catalogue. Duke Otho, Henry, Elector Palatine of the Rhine, the Duchess of Calenberg, Archbishop Hermann of Cologne, and the Bishop of Münster and Osnabruck, were among his most recent adherents. Wolfenbüttel had just been added to the ranks by the ministry of Bugenhagen. The nobility and many of the lower classes in Austria, had begun to feel the contagion. The great body of the German nobility were, at least indirectly, favourers of

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\* Page 289.

† Page 288.

‡ Page 313.

the movement. Many of the noble chapters had passed over *en masse*, and others were but tottering in their allegiance. The Imperial Cities were for the most part Protestant; and it seemed but a question of time to complete and perpetuate the conquest thus rapidly and systematically achieved!

Such was the exterior history of the movement; such was the external condition of the Lutheran Communion during the latter years of its founder's life. But how hollow the triumph, and how unsubstantial the conquest which had been thus obtained!

On Nov. 10th, 1541, Luther writes to one of his friends, that "he had almost abandoned all hope for Germany, so universally had avarice, usury, tyranny, disunion, and the whole host of untruth, wickedness, and treachery, as well as disregard of the word of God, and the most unheard of ingratitude, taken possession of the nobility, the courts, the towns, and the villages."\* In the March of the following year, he writes in much the same strain, adding, that "his only hope is in the near approach of the last day;—the world has become so barbarous, so tired of the word of God, and entertains so thorough a disgust for it."† On the 23rd of July, he declares, that "those who would be followers of the gospel, draw down God's wrath by their avarice, their rapine, their plunder of the churches; while the people listen to instructions, prayers, and entreaties, but continue, nevertheless, to heap sin upon sin."‡ On another occasion, (October 25th, 1542), he declares that "he is tired of living in this hideous Sodom;" that "all the good which he had hoped to effect has vanished away; that there remains nought but a deluge of sin and unholiness, and nothing is left for him but to pray for his discharge."§ And in reality, not only did he wish for death as a boon to himself, 'that he might be released from this satanical generation,' but he was even able calmly to see his little daughter Margaret, to whom he was devotedly attached, die before his eyes. "Alas!" he cried to the prince of Anhalt, "we live in Babylon and Sodom. || Everything is growing worse each day." And even in the very last hours of his life, so bitterly did he feel

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\* Page 338.            † Page 339.            ‡ Page 340.

§ Page 341.            || Page 347.

the immorality and irreligiousness of the city which he had made the chosen seat and centre of his doctrines, that he had actually made up his mind to leave it for ever. So sensible was he made of the connexion between his doctrines and the moral condition of Wittenberg, that the thought of residence there became unsupportable. "Let us but fly from this Sodom!" he wrote to his wife a few months before his death, "I will wander through the world, and beg my bread from door to door, rather than embitter and disturb my poor old last days by this spectacle of the disorder of Wittenberg, and the fruitlessness of my bitter dear toil in its service." It is a significant commentary on the fruitlessness of the mission to which he had devoted his life, that it needed all the influence of the Elector to induce him to abandon his determination!

Such is a faint outline of Luther's own report of the moral fruits of his reformation. It is but too well borne out in its worst details by his friends and fellow-labourers. The reader will perceive that we are drawing but lightly upon Dr. Döllinger's abundant and overflowing pages; and for what remains, we must be even more sparing in our extracts. We shall only observe that those which we mean to present are taken almost at random; that it would have been easy to find hundreds of others equally striking; and that the effect of all is grievously impaired by the broken and fragmentary form, in which, of course, they must appear in such a notice as the present.

Few of the reformers dealt less in extremes than "the mild Melancthon." What therefore are we to think of the state of things which drew even from him the declaration, that "in these latter times the world has taken to itself a boundless license; that very many are so unbridled as to *throw off every bond of discipline, though at the same time they pretend that they have faith*, that they invoke God with true fervour of heart, and that they are lively and elect members of the church; living, meanwhile, in truly cyclopean indifference and barbarism, and in slavish subjection to the devil, who drives them to adulteries, murders, and other atrocious crimes?"\* This class, too, he tells us,† are firmly wedded to their own opinions, and entirely intolerant of remonstrance. "Men

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\* Vol. i. p. 403.

† Vol. i. p. 402.

receive with avidity the inflammatory harangues which exaggerate liberty and give loose rein to the passions ; as, for an example, the cynical, rather than christian, principle, which denies the necessity of good works. Posterity will stand amazed that a generation should have ever existed, in which these ravings have been received with applause.”\*

“Never in the days of our fathers,” he avows, “had there existed such gluttony as exists now, and is daily on the increase.”† “The morals of the people, all that they do, and all that they neglect to do, are becoming every day worse. Gluttony, debauchery, licentiousness, wantonness, are gaining the upper hand more and more among the people, and in one word, every one does just as he pleases.”‡

“Most of the preachers,” writes Bucer, “imagine, that if they inveigh stoutly against the anti-christians [papists], and chatter away on a few unimportant fruitless questions, and then assailed their brethren also, they have discharged their duty admirably. Following this example, the people, as soon as they know how to attack our adversaries, and to prate a little about things far from edifying, believe that they are perfect Christians. Meanwhile, there is nowhere to be seen modesty, charity, zeal, or ardour for God’s glory ; and in consequence of our conduct, God’s holy name is everywhere subjected to horrible blasphemies.”§ “Nobody,” writes Althamer, in the preface of his Catechism, “cares to instruct his child, his servant, his maid, or any of his dependants, in the word of God or his fear ; and thus *our young generation is the very worst that ever has existed*. The elders are worthless, and the young follow their example.”|| “The children,” says Culmann, “are habituated to debauchery by their parents, and thus comes an endless train of diseases, seductions, tumults, murders, robberies, and thefts, which unhappily, owing to the state of society, are committed with security. And the worst of all is, that they are not ashamed to palliate their conduct by the examples of Noah, Lot, David, and others.”¶

\* Page 373.

† Page 387.

‡ Page 385.

§ Vol. ii. p. 29

|| Vol. ii, p. 93.

¶ Vol. ii. p. 104.

In one word, it would be as difficult to add to the catalogue of popular crimes enumerated by these men—"contempt, falsification, and persecution, of God's word; abuse of his holy sacraments; idolatry, heresy, simony, sorcery, heathenish and epicurean life, indifference about God, absolute infidelity, disregard of public worship, ignorance of the first elements of religion, and the whole hideous deluge of shame and sin shamelessly committed against God's commandments, not the mere result of human weakness and frailty, but persevered in remorselessly and unrepentingly, and regarded by the majority of men as no longer sinful and disgraceful, but as downright virtues, and legitimate subjects of boast and self-gratulation"\*—as it would to add to the evidence of the universal prevalence of such crimes which they supply, and for the truth of which they themselves challenge a denial. "Take any class you please," says Dietrich, "high or low, you will find all equally degenerate and corrupt. What is more, there is no longer any social honesty to be found among the people. The majority persecute the Gospel, and cling to the old idolatry. The rest, who have received God's word and Gospel, are also lawless, insensible to instruction, hardened in their old sinful life, as is evident from the whoredom, adultery, usury, avarice, lying, cheating, and manifold wickedness which prevail."†

There is one branch of this subject which we do not approach without great repugnance, but which, nevertheless, it would be most unhistorical, as well as unphilosophical, to overlook, because there is none in which the working of the positive teaching of the reformers is so palpably and unmistakably recognized. We refer to the avowed and undeniable deterioration of public morality,—the indifference to the maintenance of chastity, to the observance of the marriage vow, and indeed to the commonest decencies of life, by which the spread of Lutheranism was uniformly and instantaneously followed. We cannot bring ourselves to pollute our page with the hateful and atrocious doctrines of Luther (vol. i. pp. 428-9.), of Sarcerius (p. 431), Dresser (p. 432), Bugenhagen (p. 434), and many others (p. 431), founded upon what they allege to be the physical impossibility of observing continence,

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\* Osiander, cited vol. ii. p. 90.

† Ibid, p. 97.

which results from the original constitution of the sexes as ordained by God; but we are necessitated to allude to them, in order to establish beyond question the connexion of these doctrines (which, it must be remembered, were enforced by Luther chiefly in his German tracts and sermons addressed to the entire people) with the moral consequences which we shall proceed to detail, as briefly and as slightly as circumstances will permit, in the words of the authorities collected in the pages before us. Nothing can be more revolting than the picture of universal and unrestrained depravity which they reveal.

“‘The youths of the present day,’ says Brentius in 1532, ‘are hardly released from their cradles when they must take women to themselves, and girls, long before they are marriageable, begin sometimes to think of men: priests, monks, and nuns, marry in despite of every human law. Four years earlier the reformer of Ulm, Conrad Ian, complained that ‘impurity and adultery were universal in the world, that each one corrupted his neighbour, that it was no longer reputed as a sin or a shame, but was even made subject of public boast.’ In 1537, Osiander complains, that ‘so commonly, and, unhappily, in all places with so much impunity, were fornication and adultery practised, that, revolting and unchristian as it is, wives and daughters were hardly secure among their own blood relations, where their virtue, honour, and purity should be most rigidly respected;’ and his colleague Link avows that ‘now-a-days the vice of unchastity is made a subject of laughter and of amusement.’ Mathesius discovered a token of the approach of the end of the world in the prevalence of this vice. ‘How universal was the practice of debauchery, adultery, fornication, incest, conjugal infidelity, we learn partly from the criminal processes, the consistories, and the superintendents, partly from private intercourse. Assuredly either the last day is at hand, or there is some awful pestilence at our door.’—‘We Germans, now-a-days,’ says Sarcerius, in 1554, ‘can boast but little of the virtue of chastity, and that little is disappearing so fast that we can hardly speak of it any more. The number who still love it are so small, that it would be matter not of surprise, but of absolute horror; and debauchery prevails without fear and without shame. The young learn it from the old; one vice leads to another, and now the young generation is so steeped in every species of vice, that they are more experienced in it than were the oldest people in former times.’\* Braunmüller, minister

\* We shall leave the following passage, (which, strange to say, is from an old popular hymn) in its original German.

“Die fünft Kunst ist gemeine,  
Ist Ehebruch, Unkeuschheit

of Wurtemberg in 1560, complains that 'bastardy is very common. Every one is so hardened, and so habituated to this diabolical vice, that it is not considered grievous, for it is as daily bread everywhere around. Almost every wife is unfaithful; and hence no one need wonder that the band of adulterers in these our days is more powerful and influential than it was in the days of our ancestors, or even of the heathens.' Again, five years later, Andrew Hoppenrod raised the same complaint in Mansfeld. 'We see and hear (alas! God help us!) that impurity and fornication have made frightful inroads among christians, and have sunk their roots so deeply, that it is hardly any longer reputed a sin, but is rather gloried in as a noble and desirable thing, without sorrow or remorse of conscience.' In 1573, Christopher Fischer, superintendent in Brunswick, complains in like manner, that 'such is the prevalence of whoredom and debauchery, that they are no longer looked on as sinful; any one who has the opportunity thinks he does well in availing himself of it, for the world does not punish it; and, as for adultery, so completely has it obtained the upper hand, that no punishment can avail any longer to suppress it!'—vol. ii. pp. 435-7.

We cannot venture to extend our extracts on this subject further. It need only be added, that the frightful state of morality depicted in these pages is attributed without disguise, even by the Lutherans themselves, to the doctrines of Luther already alluded to. The reader will find at pp. 438-40 a long and most remarkable extract from Czecanovius, in which the connexion is fully and freely admitted. Districts in which these crimes were utterly unknown, were scarcely initiated in the principles

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Das kann jetzt gross und kleine  
 Hat man jetzund Bescheid.  
 Man schämt sich auch nichts mehre,  
 Man hält's gar für ein Ehre;  
 Niemand thut es fast wehren;  
 Welcher's jetzt treibet viel,  
 Will seyn im besten Spiel."

After all, one can hardly wonder at this, when one recollects the chorus of what is still popularly preserved as Luther's favourite chant,

"Wer liebt nicht Weiber, Wein, Gesang  
 Er bleibt ein Narr sein Leben lang!"

"Who loves not women, wine, and song,  
 He lives a fool his life-time long!"

of the Reformation till they became corrupted to the heart's core. A most remarkable example of this is Ditmarsen, a district in Holstein, in which the Catholic religion was abolished in 1532. So remarkable had this province been for the purity and simplicity of its population, that it was known under the name of *Maryland* [Marienland]; cases of unchastity were so rare and unexampled, that the forfeiture of her virtue on the part of a female was visited with perpetual disgrace, and was generally atoned for by voluntary exile, and even in some cases by the suicide of the despairing defaulter. Before Lutheranism had been established ten years, its own apostle, Nicholas Boje (in 1541), was forced to complain that "public crimes—especially whoredom, adultery, and merciless, heathenish, Jewish, nay, Turkish usury—prevail so universally, that he was obliged to call God to witness, that neither preaching, teaching, instruction, menaces, nor the terror of God's wrath, and of his righteous judgments, was of any avail." The practice of divorce, too, was, in every reformed country, an immediate consequence of the Reformation; and if there were no other evidence of the connexion between the introduction of the new religion and this frightful deterioration of morals, it would be found in the numberless laws against adultery, fornication, bigamy, &c. which date from this period, and the frequent and flagrant convictions and sentences under these laws in every protestant province of Germany. For abundant and convincing evidence of all this, we must refer the reader to the fifteenth section of the first volume, which is a mine of curious and most extraordinary learning, but yet free from that coarseness and indelicacy in which learned writers too often feel themselves privileged to indulge in dealing with such subjects.

Indeed, to add further testimonies would be but to weary and disgust the reader. We can say with truth, that to cull even these few from this mass of painful and revolting record, has been anything but an agreeable task; and that the reader who will be content to pursue the general enquiry further for himself, to read through the evidence of Amsdorf, Spalatin, Bugenhagen, Gerbel, Major, Flacius Illyricus, Brentius, Schnepf, Wesshuss, Camerarius, and the numberless others whom the author's industry has accumulated, must make up his mind to encounter many shocking and disheartening details, for which the popular

representations of the social and religious condition of the great era of the Reformation will have but ill prepared him.\*

It must not be supposed that the testimonies which we have hitherto alleged, or the great mass of those collected by the author, describe the social condition but of a portion of Germany, under the Reformation. There is not a single locality which has not its witness: Saxony, Hesse, Nassau, Brandenburg, Strasburg, Nurnberg, Stralsund, Thorn, Mecklenburg, Westphalia, Pomerania, Friesland, Denmark, Sweden; and all, or almost all, are represented by natives, or, at least, residents, familiar with the true state of society, and, if not directly interested in concealing, certainly not liable to the suspicion of any disposition to exaggerate, its shortcomings or its crimes.

Indeed, the connection between the progress of Lutheranism and this corruption of public morals, could not possibly be put more strikingly than in the words of John Belz, a minister of Allerstadt in Thuringia, (1566): "If you would find a multitude of brutal, coarse, godless people, among whom every species of sin is every day in full career, go into a city where the Holy Gospel is taught, and where the best preachers are to be met, and there you will be sure to find them in abundance."† "To be pious and upright (for which God praises Job) is now-a-days held, if not to be a sin, at least a downright folly; and from many pulpits it is proclaimed, that good works are not only unnecessary, but hurtful to our souls!"‡

We shall subjoin, as a pendant to this hasty and imperfect picture of the moral condition of Germany under the Reformation, a similar outline of its doctrinal, social, and literary state. The materials are even more various and abundant, and the details, though sufficiently startling, are of a character on which it is less painful to dwell. We pass on, therefore, to examine.

## II.—*Doctrinal Results of the Reformation.*—The popu-

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\* It is a feeling of its unsuitableness as a popular topic, even more than the narrowness of our space, that prevents us from entering into the exceedingly curious particulars of the celebrated sanction given by the Lutheran divines to the proposed polygamy of the Landgrave Philip, which Dr. Döllinger has collected in his second volume.

† Page 201.

‡ Page 202.

lar controversialists, when discussing the question of church authority, never fail to dwell upon the doctrinal extravagancies and excesses to which the great principle of the Reformation—the right of private judgment—has invariably led, from the very first day on which it was propounded. It would be easy to collect from the second volume of Dr. Dollinger's work, evidence of these results, which would satisfy the most sceptical and incredulous. But as we shall have, in the other topics which still remain, more pressing claims upon our space, we must confine ourselves to a few extracts. It is really painful to read the lamentations of the writers of those days, over the utter and inextricable confusion in which every doctrinal subject had been involved by the disputes and contentions of the rival religions. "So great," writes the learned Christopher Fischer,\* superintendent of Smalkald, "are the corruptions, falsifications, and scandalous contentions, which, like a fearful deluge, overspread the land, and afflict, disturb, mislead, and perplex poor simple common men not deeply read in scripture, that one is completely bewildered as to what side is right, and to which he should give his adhesion." Bartholomew Meyer, professor of theology at Marburg, declares, that the "last times," predicted by the Lord and his apostles, have arrived, and that "not only in morals, but also in the doctrine of the church, there is such confusion, that it may be doubted whether there is a believer on earth."† An equally unimpeachable witness of the same period admits, that "so great, on the part of most people, is the contempt of religion, the neglect of piety, and the trampling down of virtue, that they would seem not to be christians, nothing but downright savage barbarians."‡ Flacius Illyricus declares, that "the falsification of the doctrine of penance and justification had led to complete epicureanism."§ Klopfer, the parish minister of Bolheim, in Wurtemberg, (1566) complains, that "the greater number among them hold all that God has revealed in the scripture, to be silly and idle things, old-world fables and tales."§ Ratzenberger, an old friend and fellow-labourer of Luther, had long before complained that "all true doctrine and religion was utterly extinguished

\* Page 310.

† Page 223.

‡ Page 223.

§ Page 227.

§ Page 79.

in Germany;”\* and the celebrated Selnecker was so impressed with a sense of the hopelessness of the evil, that he declared that many pious hearts gave up in despair. “I advised that things should be left to themselves, that it was not possible to change them, so completely had this spirit got the upper hand almost throughout christendom.”†

We need not multiply authorities on this topic, fertile as it is. Although Dr. Dollinger’s authorities on this, as well as all the rest of his subject, are, for the most part, new, yet as it is one which has often been handled in our popular controversies already, we think it more interesting to devote a portion of our space to other subjects on which much less is known, and regarding which most erroneous notions are entertained even among Catholics themselves.

III. *The Social Results of the Reformation.*—If every written evidence of the injury inflicted on society by the preaching of the Reformers had been lost or destroyed, the War of the Peasants, and the Anabaptist atrocities, would remain as indisputable monuments of its unhappy and fatal influence. It would be tedious to appeal to contemporary writers for proofs of the direct connexion of this sanguinary outbreak with the first principles professed and preached by Luther. Although he himself disclaimed and denounced the misguided men who but carried out his principles too faithfully in practice, their proceeding was not only (as he himself admits in a passage already cited) vindicated by themselves, but is recognized by numberless writers of the times, as the natural, if not the legitimate, consequence of Luther’s teaching. But in truth, the whole framework of society is represented by the writers and preachers of that day as in a state of complete and hopeless dissolution; class set against class, subjects against rulers, peasants against nobles, poor against rich, flock against pastor. “If you look around upon the society of the present day,” asks Burenus, “what age or what rank will you find that is not changed, and grievously unlike to the generation that is gone by? What rank or condition has not fallen away, and wandered far from the habits and institutes of our forefathers?”‡

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\* Page 608.

† Page 347.

‡ Vol. I. p. 477.

"The father," says Leopold Dick, "is no longer safe from the son, the son from the father; the daughter from the mother, nor the mother from the daughter—the citizen is not safe from his fellow-citizen, the rich man from the poor; everything is turned upside down, without discrimination and without order; so universally and so uncontrollably does deceit [*ἡ διαβολή*] now-a-days pervade the world, bringing frenzy, strife, and contention in her train."\* "Such is the depravity of living," says Joachim Cameraarius, "such the corruption of morals, such is the wretchedness and confusion, both public and private, of all ages, sexes, ranks, and conditions, that I fear all piety and virtue are at an end."† And in another place he declares that "Nothing is so daring as to be beyond the reach of their cupidity or their violence. Neither reason, nor moderation, nor law, nor morality, nor duty, will serve as a restraint; not even the fear of their fellow-men, nor the shame of posterity."‡ Even in Luther's time, the complaints of the "insubordination, the arrogance and the pride of the young, and in general of all classes," had become most universal.§ They had grown so "wild and licentious as to be utterly uncontrollable—indifferent to the authority of parents, masters, and magistrates."|| "Every one," says Melancthon, "strives with his neighbour to obtain unbounded liberty and unrestricted gratification of all his desires; every one tries to gain money by every unjust act, pillages his neighbour for his own profit, takes from others to increase his own stores, and seeks advantages for himself in every way."¶

We might pursue this through numberless other writers, but we have said enough to show the extent of the evil; and we shall only add, that the great source from which it all flows, is discoverable even through the interested declamations of the great reformer himself. "The people," he writes, "stick to the idea of the gospel." *'Eh!'* say they, *'Christ proclaims liberty for us in the gospel, does he not? Well then, we will work no more, but eat and make merry!'* And thus every boor who but knows how to reckon five, seizes upon the corn-land, the meadows, and

\* Vol. I. p. 483.

† Vol. I. p. 484.

‡ Vol. I. p. 493.

§ Page 330.

|| Page 331.

¶ Page 402.

the woods, of the monasteries, and carries everything according to his own will, under the pretext of the gospel." \* Here was the true root of the evil. It was all very well for Luther to express his "mortification" [verdreusst] at these results. But results they were, and natural results, of his teaching. He had sown the wind, and we need not wonder that he reaped the whirlwind; nor need we any longer be surprised at Brentius's good-humoured, though most cutting jest, that "*there was no need to warn Protestants against relying on good works, for they had not any good works to rely on.*" †

IV. *The influence of the Reformation on the condition of Literature and Science.* To those who judge by the commonly received notions, this enquiry, we doubt not, will appear perfectly idle, perhaps absurd. To move a doubt upon the subject is to return to the first principles—to call evidence itself in question. The very name of the Reformation is popularly regarded as synonymous with enlightenment and progress, and from it is commonly dated the origin of what is called the great intellectual movement of the modern world. How far the character is merited, let it be determined from the statements of the reformers themselves.

(1.) *The sciences and profane literature.* Perhaps it would be wrong to insist too much upon the testimony of Erasmus; but it is impossible to read his indignant denunciations of Luther, as condemning the whole philosophy of Aristotle as diabolical, declaring "all science, whether practical or speculative, to be damnable, and all the speculative sciences to be sinful and erroneous;" his denunciation of Farel of Geneva as "representing all human learning as an invention of the devil;" his furious tirade against the whole reforming body, as "both publicly and privately teaching, that all human learning is but a net of the devil" ‡—his reiterated assertions, that "wherever Lutheranism flourishes, study begins to grow cold," that "where Lutheranism reigns, learning comes to ruin"—his contrasts of the Catholic and the Protestant seats of learning—without feeling that the pretensions of modern historians, as to the services

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\* Vol. i. Page 326.

† Vol. ii. Page 698.

‡ Page 437.

rendered to learning by the reformation, are not entirely beyond question. And, on a nearer examination, we find that these denunciations of Erasmus are literally borne out by the facts. Melancthon himself, notwithstanding his own literary tastes, is found to admit their justice.\* Glarean, a Swiss reformer, maintains a long argument against a party of his fellow Lutherans, who held that "there was no need to study Greek and Latin, German and Hebrew being quite sufficient."† Gastius records the prevalence of a still more extravagant opinion among the evangelical ministers, (*compluscultos evangelii ministros*), that it was *even unlawful* for those destined to the preaching of the gospel to study *any part of philosophy* except the sacred scripture alone."‡ In the Bostock university, the celebrated Arnold Büren was suspected of infidelity, because he placed Cicero's philosophical works in the hands of his pupils, as a text-book;§ and in Wittenberg itself, the Rome of Lutheranism, it was publicly maintained by George Mohr, and Gabriel Didymus, that "scientific studies were useless and destructive (*verderblich*), and that all schools and academies should be abolished."|| And it is actually recorded, that in pursuance of this advice, the school-house of Wittenberg was converted into a bakery! "It is with reluctance," writes the celebrated Brassikanus, one of Melancthon's disciples at Tübingen, "I am forced by truth to say, that a distaste for letters exists among men of genius, and to such a degree, even in the greatest cities of Germany, that it has become a mark of nationalism to hate learning, and an evidence of prudence and statesmanship to condemn all study."¶ What must have been the evidence of the evil to have extorted such an admission! Under these influences science fell completely into disrepute. Nicholas Gerbel could not find "any period in history where the sciences were at a lower ebb than the present."\*\*\* "In the last century, the least cultivated man," writes Eusebius Menius,†† "would have been ashamed not to be expert in mathematics and physics; but nowadays one cannot but see that (to our shame in the sight of posterity) these sciences are completely despised, and that, out of

\* Page 441.

† Page 441.

‡ Page 441.

§ Page 416.

|| Page 413.

¶ Page 525.

\*\* Vol. ii. p. 55.

†† Page 609.

a great number of students, but few would ever know what once mere boys would have been perfectly familiar with." And so universal and deep-rooted had this hatred of science become, that "from the revilings of science, which echo in almost every church in Germany, and the coarse invectives against which issue from the press," Moller,\* in his commentary on Malachy, "can anticipate nothing but the complete downfall of the sciences, the re-introduction of the most immeasurable barbarism into the church, and unlimited licence for daring spirits to deal with the christian doctrine as they may think fit."

(2.) *Theological Studies.* The same distaste extended even to sacred studies. It will not be matter of surprise that Luther's hatred of the scholastics should have driven them at once and for ever from the schools of the new learning. But it will sound oddly in the ears of a Protestant of the present day, that the *scriptures themselves should have fallen into disrepute, even among students of divinity, and even in Luther's own university of Wittenberg.* Yet we learn from an unimpeachable witness, a professor at Wittenberg itself,† that "so great is the contempt of God's word, that even students of divinity fly from a close study and investigation of the bible, as if they were sated and cloyed therewith; and if they have but read a chapter or two, they imagine that they have swallowed the whole of the divine wisdom at a draught;" and Melchior Petri, minister at Radburg, in 1569, "is driven to confess that things have come to such a pass among Lutherans, that as Luther himself had set at nought the authorities of the entire of the fathers, so his disciples place their father Luther far beyond, not merely the fathers, but even the scripture itself, and rely exclusively upon him."‡

The author enters minutely into the claim of priority in the foundation of schools of biblical criticism, and the introduction of the critical study of scripture set up in favour of the Reformers. Nor does it bear the test of investigation a whit better than the claims which we have been discussing. Though we find so much stress laid by them upon the study of the Hebrew text, yet it turns out that not a single edition of the Hebrew bible was

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\* Page 496.      † Paul Krale, p. 460.      ‡ Page 454.

printed in Germany during this entire period. How few copies of the editions printed at (the still popish) Venice between 1518 and 1544, and of the Paris ones of Robert Stephens, found their way into Germany, may be inferred from the exceeding rarity of these editions; and although the Basil edition of Sebastian Munster, (1536) may have had somewhat more circulation, yet the first edition of the Hebrew text which appeared in Protestant Germany, dates near the close of the century after the commencement of Luther's career. In like manner, there does not appear to have been any edition of the Greek New Testament in Germany for forty years after the same period. Contrast with this disgraceful indifference, the sixteen editions of the Hebrew text printed in Venice alone before the year 1559, and the ten editions of the Greek text which appeared at Paris before 1551, and say to which side the priority in justice belongs! Well may Dr. Döllinger, with such a contrast before him, appeal to Melancthon's lamentation so frequently and so feelingly uttered over the "total neglect of the original sources of divine learning."

"'Alas!' exclaims Strigel, 'were pious christians to shed as many tears as there is water in the Saal, they could not sufficiently deplore the downfall of Christian doctrine and discipline. Men not only turn with disgust and loathing from the word of God, but what is still more deplorable, they blush at the very name of 'theologian,' and abandon the study of theology to a few poor wretched men, apparently without talent or means to cultivate it, and betake themselves to more honourable and more agreeable pursuits.'"<sup>\*</sup>

(3.) We need hardly dwell on the decay of *Patristical Studies*. The well-known principles of Luther on the subject of the authority of the fathers—his frequent declarations that the "poor dear fathers lived better than they wrote"—his lamentations over the "darkness on the subject of faith which pervades their writings;" their "blindness;" the "obscurity in which they have involved questions which are plain in the scripture"—the contempt, and indeed worse, which he displays for them, taken individually; will prepare us for great extravagance in the same matter on the part of his followers. But we cannot refrain from mentioning, as a curious example of the spirit of the time, that it was made a serious charge against a

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\* Page 330.

master at Augsburg, that he introduced Lactantius among his scholars as an introduction to the study of the fathers,\* and that "among the especial arts which satan employs to undermine the authority of the man of God, Dr. Luther, the chief is described to be his withdrawing them from Luther's writings to those of the fathers, and of others who are far inferior to him."†

(4.) From the same principles of Luther will be understood without difficulty the decline of *Historical Studies* also. Germany, in the early part of the sixteenth century, had produced a larger number of historians than perhaps any other in Europe. Wimpeling, Tritheim, Albert Kranz, Rhenanus, Peutinger, Cuspinian, and several others enumerated by Dr. Döllinger. In the last seventy years of the same century we find scarcely a single name on the Protestant side, with the exception of Sleidan, a clever but unscrupulous writer; and the only historical writers of any note are those of the Catholic party—Gerhard van Roo, Dalrav, bishop of Olmütz, and Fabricius, rector of Düsseldorf.

(5.) But it is from the character of the Universities and other seats of learning, even more than from general statements like these, that we can most securely gather the intellectual condition of Germany. Upon this part of the subject the author appears to have bestowed exceeding care; and if it be remembered how obscure and how scattered must have been the sources of such an enquiry, some idea may be formed of the difficulty of the performance. He passes in review the universities of Erfurt, Basil, Tübingen, Wittenberg, Leipzig, Rostock, Frankfort, and Heidelberg. Contrasting their condition before and after the Reformation, and detailing in the words of the reformers themselves, many of them members of the communities they describe, their actual condition under the working of the new system, he traces to its immediate influence the corruption which most unquestionably did follow its introduction, so clearly and satisfactorily, that it would be impossible to entertain a doubt of the fact, even if it were not expressly admitted by the parties most interested in its concealment. The universities of Germany, without

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\* Xystus Vetuleius, p. 416.

† Jerome Weller, p 453.

any exception, were described, in the year 1568, as "remarkable for nothing but the pride, laziness, and unbridled licentiousness of the professors,"\* and Camerarius (I. 484) often thought that "it would be better to have no schools at all than such asylums of dishonesty and vice." Wittenberg held a bad pre-eminence among them. Flacius Illyricus (227) "would rather send children to a brothel, than to the High School of Wittenberg." No discipline or godliness was known there, and "*especially among Dr. Philip's (Melancthon) disciples,*" whom people visiting the university, and expecting to find angels, discovered to be, in reality, living devils.† Indeed, the students of this university were "universally infamous (land-rüchig) for debauchery, gambling, impiety, blasphemy, cursing, drinking, and indecent language and behaviour;"‡ and though the university authorities were well aware of the scandals, they were afraid to publish their shame by expelling the guilty, who constituted the majority.§ At Frankfort on the Oder, (1562) the students were "so wild and undisciplined, that neither professors nor townsmen were secure of their lives."|| At Tübingen the "habits of blasphemy, drunkenness, and debauchery," which came under his own personal notice, called for the prompt and decided interference of Duke Christopher of Würtemberg in 1565.¶ A few years later, (1577) the students were represented in the magistrates' Report to the senate as "a godless race, like those of Sodom and Gomorrah:" and in 1583, a solemn visitation, for the sole purpose of staying or eradicating the notorious and habitual immorality, was ordered by the public authorities of the city.\*\* The accounts of the universities of Marburg (480) Königsberg (482) Leipzig (573), Basil (557), are precisely the same; and in his report on the university of Rostock, Arnold Buren frankly avows, that, "comparing the new generation with the old ones, every right-minded man complained, and the conduct of the members themselves evinced even more clearly, that a general deterioration of morals had taken place; that crimes of every description were day by day

\* Rudolf Walther, vol. i. 473. † Schwenckfeld, vol. i. 476.

‡ Waldner, *ibid.* § George von Solmes, *ibid.*

|| Musculus, 478.

¶ Page 479.

\*\* Mohl, 479.

on the increase; that instead of the virtuous gravity and youthful modesty of former days, wanton levity and unbridled licentiousness had been introduced; and that things had come now to such a pass, that from the entire frame of society, and from the morals of every class, simplicity, integrity, and purity had completely disappeared.”\*

In a short time this disrepute began to produce its effect upon the attendance of the pupils. The declaration of Illyricus is an echo of the general feeling. Parents feared † to send their children to such dens of immorality: the numbers gradually diminished: the university of Basil, once so flourishing, became a desert within a few years: and at Erfurt, which at the outbreak of the Reformation had been in its highest reputation, the pupils, who in 1520 amounted to 311, fell to 120 in 1522, then to 72, and afterwards to 34, till, in 1527, the entrances amounted to but 14!

From the variety of these extracts, and the exceeding diversity of the sources from which they are taken, it will readily be believed that our difficulty has rather been to limit than to extend them. We had originally intended to pursue the enquiry on a similar plan through various other topics, as,—the scandalous lives of its ministers, and the contempt and hatred with which, as a class, they were regarded by their flocks†—the weariness of spirit, the remorse, the longing after death,§ even the miserable end, in many cases, by their own hands,|| which it entailed upon those who were actively engaged in it—the repining after the good old times, the longing for the revival of popery, and the habitual reference, on the part of the people, of all the evils which had overwhelmed the world to the new Gospel which had been introduced.¶ But we have already more than wearied out the reader’s patience by these pain-

\* Page 477.

† 480.

‡ See vol. II. pp. 26, 293, 551, 554, &c. &c.

§ As in the cases of Mathesius, (vol. II. p. 130) Sarcerius, (vol. ii. p. 180) Spalatin, (vol. II. p. 90) Gigas, (535) Grossehans, (515) &c.

|| For example, Bessler, (vol. II. p. 90). William Bidembach, who threw himself out of a window in despair, (vol. II. p. 370); his brother, who after attempting to hang himself, died mad, (371) &c.

¶ See vol. II. pp. 79, 316, 208, 331, 531, 698, &c.

ful and revolting extracts, nor shall we venture to pursue the Reformation into the 'lower deeps' of sin and wretchedness to which it led. Even in the few, and perhaps ill-assorted extracts which we have hastily heaped together, there is enough and more than enough to fix its character as a movement claiming to be divinely directed. We are ready to allow its claims to be tested by any reasoning man, no matter how deeply prejudiced in its favour, upon these admissions of its own most zealous founders. Let him but contrast in the light of this evidence, imperfect and fragmentary as our narrow limits have made it, its great promise with its small performance, its magnificent anticipations with its miserable results—let him follow it in its career through the various countries where it found an entrance, and mark the fruits which it produced in each—where it promised peace and happiness, let him see it produce disorder, insubordination, murder, rebellion, division of class against class, sanguinary war; where it promised piety, lukewarmness, impiety, blasphemy, irreligion; where it promised purer morality, debauchery, fornication, drunkenness, revolting indecency in young and old; where it promised all the social and domestic virtues, adulteries, divorces, bigamy, fraud, avarice, hard-heartedness to the poor; where it promised the revival of true faith, confusion, scepticism, contempt of all religion, and utter unbelief; where it promised enlightenment, ignorance, barbarism, contempt of learning, and fanatical hatred of science;—let him but remember how all this is attested by those to whose dearest and most cherished hopes the admission was as gall and wormwood, and we defy him to resist the direct and palpable conclusion, that the finger of God was *not* in that unhappy movement—that the prestige of its success was hollow and unsubstantial, that its boasted advantages were a juggle and a delusion, that its lofty pretensions were but a silly mockery, and its very title a living and flagitious lie.

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A Catholic Journal, (the Tablet) on the appearance of the April number of the Dublin Review, took occasion to pronounce some strictures on two or three passages of an article in that number, entitled "Protestantism and Catholicism considered," &c. The writer of that paper considers it due to himself, as well as to the Review in which the article appeared, to reply to those strictures.

The exceptions regard four points; 1st, the assertion, that the spiritual and temporal powers were separated in the Jewish Church; secondly, that the Episcopacy circumscribes the exercise of the Papal power; thirdly, that the Pope is bound by compacts with secular princes; fourthly, the rejection of the doctrine of Popular Sovereignty by the Catholic Church.

I. When we speak of the spiritual and temporal powers in the Jewish Church, we, of course, mean the sacerdotal and political jurisdictions; and it must be evident that in a Polity half spiritual, half temporal, like that of the Jews, the priesthood could not have the same spiritual character as in the higher and more perfect dispensation of Christianity. In 'the Patriarchal' times the constitution of religion was domestic; religious instruction and the solemnization of religious offices being entrusted to the heads of families and tribes. In Heathenism, which, though a corruption of the Patriarchal faith, preserved the substance of its doctrines, rites, and constitution, this union of sacerdotal and political power was ever retained. Anius, of whom Virgil says: "*Rex Anius Phabique Sacerdos*," is a true specimen of a Gentile king. In Egypt and India, when the Royal Dynasty happened to belong to the military rather than to the sacerdotal caste, the king, before he ascended the throne, was always consecrated priest.

In China the emperor even offered up the most solemn sacrifice. The early kings of Greece and Rome, as well as their later magistrates, enjoyed this privilege. Even when Rome had expelled her kings, she still retained the name and title of royalty in her sacerdotal system—a touching reminiscence of the Patriarchal ages, when the kingly and priestly offices were ever united in the same hands.

Judaism was the second stage in the development of religion; priests were set apart and ordained of God for his service, and a public ministry was substituted for the domestic one of Patriarchal times. "*Among the Jews*," says the learned Bergier, "*the priests constituted a special tribe; but their functions were confined to divine worship; they had no share in the civil government.*" The judges, whom Moses, by the counsel of Jethro, established to decide the disputes of the Israelites, were chosen from every tribe, *Exod. xviii. 21, Deut. i. 15.* In the number of the fifteen chiefs who successively governed the nation, the only priests were Heli and

Samuel, and it is even a matter of doubt whether the latter were of the tribe of Levi.....The Jewish priests rendered the same services as the Egyptian, without having the same privileges."—*Dictionnaire Theologique, art. Prêtres, vol. vi.*

There are three remarkable circumstances which point out the separation of the spiritual and temporal powers in the Jewish church.

1. Moses, the Hebrew lawgiver, the divinely appointed founder of the civil and ecclesiastical polity of the Jews—the type of Him who was one day to bring about a more perfect dispensation—Moses was no priest. The sacerdotal office was allotted to his brother Aaron and his successors. Surely, if the spiritual and temporal powers were not intended to be kept separate in Judaism, Moses, the guide and teacher of his people—the most highly favoured servant of God—who was admitted to converse with Him face to face, would have been exalted to the priestly dignity.

2. The ceremony of coronation prescribed for the institution of Jewish royalty, proves clearly the distinction of the two powers. As the kings could not be raised to the priesthood, they were, by an affecting ceremony, reminded of the divine origin of authority, and of their obligations to God and to their subjects. They became, like the Christian kings after them, the Lord's anointed and his vicars in the temporal order of things.

3. The punishment which was inflicted on Uzziah for his rashness in laying hands on the censer, is another proof how distinct and separate were the temporal and spiritual powers in the Jewish dispensation.

It was precisely by its greater spiritual independence, by its hierarchic constitution, as well as by the greater variety and importance of its rites and ceremonies, that the Jewish priesthood, more than the Patriarchal, prefigured the Christian.

II. We now come to the second point. The words "Episcopacy which circumscribes the exercise of the Papal power," as cited by the writer, detached from the context, are ambiguous. They may signify that the Episcopacy can of its own will set limits to the Papal power—an opinion utterly uncatholic, and which never entered our mind; or, the words may mean (and the context clearly shows they can bear no other signification) that although the Holy See is the foundation of Episcopal jurisdiction, yet Episcopacy, by its divine institution and canonical rights, is a check on the exercise of the Papal authority.

In the passage cited by the writer, we compare Episcopacy to the temporal nobility, which is at once a limit and a support to royalty; and we merely developed the well-known proposition of Bellarmine, that the constitution of the Catholic Church is a monarchy tempered by aristocracy and democracy. In what country does the nobility, except in times of revolution, set arbitrary limits to the royal authority? Yet, in all countries, its

riches, influence, privileges, and (in temperate monarchies) its legislative power, circumscribe the exercise of the royal prerogative. Thus, to return to the matter in question, it is well known that, except in cases of extraordinary emergency, where the utility of the church requires the canons to be momentarily suspended, the Sovereign Pontiff, cannot, without a canonical trial, deprive a Bishop of his see; but that in missions where the Apostolic Vicariate prevails, the prelate can be deposed at the pleasure of the Holy See. We ask, therefore, whether it would not be perfectly correct to say, that the exercise of the Papal power in England would be circumscribed by the re-establishment of the ordinary Episcopate? How could there be any ambiguity in our words, when, in a preceding passage we stated, that "the Papal power *mighty, and all-prevailing as it is*, and as becomes the end for which its divine Author instituted it, was yet, in the exercise of its jurisdiction, bound by the canons of the Church, by the disciplinary decrees of general councils and preceding Pontiffs, by the *subordinate*, though divine institution of Episcopacy and its inherent rights, &c., &c.?" Had we meant to attribute to the Prelacy the power of restraining ad libitum the exercise of the Papal power, should we have spoken of the *subordinate* institution of the Episcopacy? and, should we have called the Papal power *mighty and all-prevailing*, and a little afterwards professed our belief in its doctrinal infallibility *ex cathedrâ*? It will be well to hear on this matter the opinion of an eminent canonist of Catholic Germany—one who is anti Gallican in his opinions, and who, for his literary services to the church, received a decoration from his late Holiness, Pope Gregory XVI.

"This power of the Roman See," says M. Walter, professor at the University of Bonn, "is, from its very nature, the supreme power in the church. Hence, for all the acts which it exercises in virtue of its supremacy, this See is responsible to God only and its own conscience. *Prima Sedes a nemine judicatur*, (c. 16, 17. cix. q. 3. (Gelas anno, 455) c. 14. eod. Symmach. anno 503.) Moreover its mode of acting is determined by the spirit and practice of the church, by respect for general councils (c. 14. e. xxv. q. 1. Concil. Chalc. anno 451. o. 1. eodem Gelas. anno 455. (c. 17. cxxv. q. 2, Lev. 1. anno 452.) and by the welfare of Christendom, of which this See is to be in all things mindful. Thus is the Papal Supremacy, whatever name we may give it, by no means arbitrary and unlimited in its exercise, but more than any other power is it bound and attempered (gebunden und gemildert) by the consciousness of duties correlative with rights, by respect for ancient ordinances and customs, (c. b. cxxv. 9. 1. Urban, inc. a. c. 7. eod. Zozim. anno 418. c. 15. cxxv. q. 2. Gelas. anno 454. c. 21. eod.) by the mild tone of the government, by the recognition of customary rights and liberties, by the regulated division of affairs, by a necessary regard to the secular powers, lastly, by the spirit of nations."—*Kirchenrecht*, § 23, p. 57. 1 ed.

The Journal does not seem to like the expression, "the Pope is bound by special compacts with secular princes." Those who know that the alliance between church and state is founded in nature, sanctioned by all ages, and approved by the Church, will acknowledge that concordats, or compacts between the spiritual and temporal powers, may at certain times, and under certain conditions, be wholesome and necessary. The Holy See in its wisdom weighs the general circumstances of the church, and in order to obtain certain advantages, makes certain concessions to the secular princes. Undoubtedly, as in these disciplinary regulations the Roman See is not under the immediate guidance of the divine Spirit, a weaker Pontiff will make concessions which a more energetic one would have refused; and an energetic Pontiff will, under unfavourable circumstances, surrender rights which at other more propitious times he would have retained. This is the circle for the operation of the mere human activity of the Sovereign Pontiff; but the Spirit that watches over the church will not permit any essential injury to accrue to her from the weakness or want of foresight of her rulers.

But the concessions made by the Holy See to temporal Sovereigns may prove very advantageous to the church. Thus, to cite an instance, the Popes at Avignon, from their financial embarrassments, not unfrequently exercised the extreme right of derogating from the lawful claims of lay and ecclesiastical Patrons, and of presenting individuals to livings. All are aware that this exercise of the Papal power was a fruitful source of discontent and complaint, more especially in our own country. Now any compact with secular governments that would have waived so extreme a right, would, in our humble opinion, have been very beneficial to the church and to the Holy See, whose interests are identified with those of the church.

If space permitted, many other instances might be cited.

We are at a loss to understand what insinuation is meant to be conveyed by the distinction taken between right and fact in the words above quoted. We appeal to our opponent's candour, whether a writer who professed the opinion of the infallibility of the Pope, *ex cathedrâ*—(an opinion never entertained by those Catholics who were inimical to the full liberty of the church)—who had reprobated so strongly the ecclesiastical policy of Joseph II. and his brother Leopold of Tuscany—who had shown that the Sovereigns of the eighteenth century, by violating the rights of the church, the aristocracy, and the commons, had undermined the foundations of their own thrones:—whether such a writer, we say, were likely to sacrifice the spiritual prerogatives of the Holy See either to prelates or princes? We ask whether had we even used an incautious or ambiguous phraseology (which we had not), charity, nay, common justice, did not require a favourable construction to be put upon our words?

IV. We come now to the fourth point, the doctrine of "Popular Sovereignty." Whenever the expression "the doctrine of popular Sovereignty" is used, this refers not to the *de facto* possession of power on the part of the multitude, but to the opinion that the civil power in the origin of Society emanated from the people, and not from God. Space will not permit us here to enter upon the examination of this important question. The Catholic church repudiates the doctrine of the Sovereignty of the people *implicitly*, by inculcating the divine origin of the civil power, and the consequent criminality of rebelling, except in certain cases of extreme tyranny, when the natural and divine laws are trampled under foot, and when the majority of Catholic theologians allow the right of physical resistance. Some divines of the fifteenth century, like Gerson, Peter D'Ailly, Almain, and others, who were the first to introduce into the christian world the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, which they borrowed from the later schools of Greek philosophy, applied their principles to the church as well as state, and while they declared that the majority of the people could cashier its princes, conceded the same right to general councils over the sovereign Pontiff. The later Gallicans, like De Marca, Fleury, and the great Bossuet, while they borrowed, to a certain extent, the ecclesiastical principles of the above named theologians on the hierarchy, rejected their political opinions, and even went to the contrary extreme of maintaining, in all cases, the indefeasibility of the civil power.

The examples of the archbishop of Milan and the French clergy during the recent revolutions in Paris and in Milan, adduced by our critic in defence of the doctrine of popular sovereignty, are by no means to the point. In planting the cross on the barricades of Milan, the archbishop of that city may have been influenced by three different motives. Either he may have thought with very many of the Italian clergy, that the Austrian sway in Italy was illegitimate, and that the struggle was not so much one between ruler and subject, as between nation and nation; or that, if legitimate, the authority had been abused to such an extent as to justify open resistance; or, (what indeed is most probable) he may have deemed fit to interpose his sacred authority in the jar of civil strife, in order to procure due protection to religion, life, and property, and prevent, if possible, the accession of an irreligious party to power. His conduct, in any of these cases, is perfectly consistent with the rejection of the opinion of popular Sovereignty.

That in the miserable anarchy which afflicts unhappy France, the clergy should set the best face on matters, and bear with evils they cannot remedy, is only natural. But until our opponent can adduce some public declaration from the venerable bishops of that country, stating that power in the origin emanated from the people, and not from God; that in every state, whatever be its form of government, the authority of the supreme magistrate

depends on a primitive delegation of the people, and that as La Fayette once said, "Insurrection is the holiest of duties;" until, we say, he can adduce some such declaration, he will be unable to invoke the authority of the church of France against the doctrine we have advanced. The doctrine of divine right, as taught in the Catholic church, protects republics as well as monarchies against the dangers of anarchy. We cannot better conclude these observations than in the words of the illustrious Dominican, father Lacordaire, who, as is well known, does not belong to the Legitimist party. "L'Evangile avoit posé, a principe," says he, in one of his conferences, "que l'homme est trop grand pour obeir à l'homme; que l'homme est trop miserable pour être vénéré de l'homme par sa propre substance et sa propre vertu. Ce principe renversoit le systeme oriental. Mais en revanche, l'Evangile avoit dit qu'il faut obeir à Dieu dans l'homme, "servientes sicut Domino, et non hominibus." Ce principe renversoit le systeme occidental. Le prince n'étoit plus seulement le mandataire du peuple; il étoit le mandataire de Jesus Christ; on n'obeissait plus seulement à l'homme, mais à Jesus lui même présent et vivant dans celui qu'a voit élu la Société. Je dis celui qu'avoit élu la Société; car l'Evangile n'avoit pas ravi à la Société son droit naturel d'élection: il n'avoit par même déterminé si le gouvernement devoit être une monarchie, une aristocratie, ou une démocratie. Il laissoit la question de forme et de choix au cours de l'expérience et des événements; il avoit dit aux nations: "Mettez à votre tête un consul, un president, un roi, qui vous voudrez; mais souvenez-vous qu'au moment ou vous aurez assis votre magistrature suprême, Dieu viendra dedans."—*Conferences*, p. 377, vol. ii. Paris, 1845.

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## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

I.—*Mary, the Star of the Sea, a Story of Catholic Devotion.*  
London: Burns.

**A**FTER the multitude of religious tales which have been given to the world during the last fifteen or twenty years, we hardly expected that we could ever meet with another which we should not fancy we had read a hundred times before. "Loss and Gain," however, undeceived us: here, at last, was something essentially new. "Mary, the Star of the Sea," again, is something quite

unlike anything in the way of Catholic fiction, which has ever appeared in this country. It is unlike all its predecessors, not only in the general subject, but still more in the peculiar tone of thought and mode of treatment which runs through the volume, from the first chapter to the last. Its title tells its purport, which is to illustrate the exquisite loveliness of the Mother of God, under all the various types by which she is spoken of in the holy scripture, and to show the happiness, peace, and protection, enjoyed by every pious christian who cherishes a tender devotion to her, who is the first and most powerful of all creatures formed by the Almighty's hand.

All this is done, not only with a very surprising amount of knowledge of the divine scriptures, and a remarkable facility in discerning and explaining their typical meaning, but with a high sense of all that is most poetic, romantic, and touching, both in the christian's daily life, and in the passing world, in which he dwells for a season. We question indeed whether there exists any other book, except professed theological treatises, which contains so rich a mine of information with respect to the innumerable types and figures, especially in the case of the holy women of the old dispensation, which refer to the person and office of Mary in the work of the redemption of man. All this portion of the book, also, is written with so much zest and life, and with such an evident delight in the subject on the part of the author, that it will probably tempt many a superficial reader to study, who would pass over anything put in a more scholastic or didactic form.

The story itself, which forms the groundwork of the whole, has not much in the way of incident; though we have found it by no means lacking in interest. The characters, however, are drawn with very considerable delicacy of touch and refinement of idea; and throughout there is an elevation of sentiment and an imaginative colouring to every phase of the tale, singularly unlike the commonplace prosiness which besets the average class of professedly religious fictions. Some readers, indeed, may find fault with the book for being too ideal in its views, and in the people who figure in its pages, and will say it is *too* unlike the sad actual life even in the brightest spots in the Catholic world, as it really is. Its personages talk not only the language of a rank in life higher than their own, —(a point which the author explains in the preface;)—but

they talk as people speak in poetry; not vaguely, unmeaningly, and pompously; but with that peculiar cast of phrase, and that ideal mode of thought which the nature of poetry demands; but which we rarely, if ever, meet with in the realities of prosaic existence. All this, at the same time, by no means destroys our interest in their affairs; we only think that they are what men and women might be, rather than what they commonly are. The book is so genuine, ardent, and sincere, that we feel in every page that the author has written with the profoundest conviction of the strict possibility of everything that is said, done, suffered, and thought, by its various characters.

We shall be curious, at the same time, to see how the book takes with the generality of readers. Being something quite dissimilar from the old run of story books, we can hardly tell what sort of a reception it will meet with. We shall be surprised, however, if it is not welcomed with cordial satisfaction by a large class of persons.

II.—*Topham's Patented Railway Time-Table*. Richardson and Son, London, Dublin, and Derby.

WHO that has travelled by railway, and wished to learn the precise time at which he might arrive at a particular town, or at his final place of destination, has not found himself bewildered and confused by the conglomeration of little figures, lines, and letters which the old railway time-tables presented to him? Who has not discovered, no matter how closely and earnestly he sought to spell his way out of the apparent confusion, that he has, after all, fallen into an irretrievable error—mistaking the time marked for the train passing a town when leaving London, for the time at which the up train would reach it when on its way to London, and *vice-versa*? And if this were the case with one railway table, how infinitely more hopeless the task when there was question of a long journey, on two or three different lines, each distinct in itself, but still connected with and branching off from others? The great merit of *Topham's Patented Railway Time-Table* is, that all these difficulties are removed, these embarrassments are avoided, this confusion, perplexity, and uncertainty is at an end, and every point, the most minute, as well as the most important, is so simplified, that a

child can comprehend the entire plan. All the hours marked for trains travelling *from* London are printed in *black ink*—all the hours marked for trains travelling *to* London are printed in *red ink*: to ascertain the first, the eye runs *down* the page; to ascertain the second, the eye runs *up* the page. Such is the principle on which *Topham's Patented Time-Tables* are constructed. The very facility with which it can be explained is a proof of its usefulness, its certainty, and its applicability to all the occasions on which it can be required. The pamphlet does not, however, confine its pages to an accurate and complete account of all the railway tables in the United Kingdom. It is not only a Railway, but also a Steam Navigation Guide for England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. It gives the arrival and departure of mails, coaches, and conveyances, &c. In fact, there will be found in it every species of information required by those who travel for business, or for pleasure; whilst at the same time, by the rejection of advertisements, the work is of such moderate compass and convenient size, that it can be carried without the slightest inconvenience in the pocket or the reticule. It is a traveller's book, and nothing else—telling the traveller all he can want or desire to know, and not intruding upon him with a single line which is not of direct and immediate use to the traveller. The price of this excellent publication is only sixpence; and we cannot refrain from adding, that it is impossible to open a single page, with its clear type, its bold figures, and its happy combination of red and black inks, without being struck by the beauty, the distinctness, and general elegance of the typography.

III.—*The Surgical, Mechanical, and Medical treatment of the Teeth, including Dental Mechanics*, with one hundred engravings, by JAMES ROBERTSON, Surgeon Dentist to the Royal Free Hospital, &c. London, Webster, Piccadilly, and Blakiston, Philadelphia. Second edition.

THIS is a practical work by an accomplished and practical man upon a most important subject, on which, however, so much of general ignorance prevails, that it has long since been seized upon by empirics and quacks, as affording them a ready means for subsistence. We have long felt the want of such a book as this—of a treatise upon the

teeth, which would put the general reader in possession of so much knowledge, as to enable him to test the qualifications of the *professed dentist* to whom he was obliged to have recourse, either for the purpose of relieving pain, or of supplying that, which once felt, is instantly recognized as a great calamity, the loss of teeth. It is strange, that until now, we have never met with a work in the English language, which conveyed that information in plain, simple, and intelligible language, although our neighbours on the continent, and surgical writers in America, have not been so inattentive to this matter. The simplicity of style, the plainness of language, and the intelligence conveyed in every page of Mr. Robertson's treatise, arise from the abundance of his knowledge; and it is because he is so complete a master of his subject, that every one who peruses his book, arises from the study of it a well instructed pupil. We learn how the teeth should be treated from childhood to old age—by what means they may be preserved, by what resources saved from decay; by what expedients the pain arising from decay or accident abated or removed, and finally, how, and in what manner, their loss can be best supplied.

What we admire most in this book, is that for which we have least reason to admire most modern publications, and that is the appositeness of its arrangement, and the clearness of its expression. It proceeds step by step, making the path of the reader more clear every step he advances, conveying to the mind the knowledge of a fact, or of an important principle in every page, all bearing upon the one topic, and all laid bare without the slightest assumption of pedantry, and never obscured by the employment of a single unnecessary technical expression. The author, in the first part, whilst teaching the public, is also instructing the dentist; and in the second part, when lecturing the dentist, and pointing out to him how his art is to be exercised, is conveying a vast fund of knowledge to the general reader. Whatever is stated by Mr. Robertson as a fact, or whatever is laid down by him as a principle, may be relied upon by the reader as an unerring truth, for the author has tested both by numberless experiments. He states only what he knows, and the knowledge is the result of years of study, fortified by daily proofs. Thus we have a book on which the most perfect reliance may be placed, coming from one who has won for himself not only exten-

sive practice as a dentist, but also a high name in the medical world ; for Mr. Robertson is the gentleman who was the first in Europe to introduce the employment of ether in difficult surgical cases, and he, too, was the first to reduce its effects to a practical certainty, by discovering the index when an operation ought to commence. He has also contributed much original information upon the employment of anæsthetic agents, a subject we may remark, which has not been as yet sufficiently considered.

Such is the author of the book now before us. We regret that we cannot afford space to go more fully into the contents of such a book, for the more it is known, the more must the public feel indebted to the author for the great and important information communicated by him.

IV.—*Philothea ; or, an Introduction to a Devout Life*. Translated from the French of ST. FRANCIS OF SALES, by the REV. JAMES JONES. London, Dublin, and Derby ; Thomas Richardson and Son. 1848.

AMONG the numberless happy results which have followed from the multiplication, the cheapness, and the extensive circulation of modern books of piety during the last ten or fifteen years, there is one consequence which has followed indirectly, and which we have often been tempted to regret. By the very variety and novelty of the modern appliances of devotion with which busy translators and enterprising publishers have enriched the young generation, we fear they have been led in some measure to forget the good old standard works which formed the entire stock of devotional reading for their less happy forefathers. We have often looked in vain through the ascetic collection of modern pious libraries for the works of St. Francis of Sales, of Lewis of Granada, for Cardinal Bellarmine's inimitable devotional treatises, and even occasionally for the golden book itself—Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ*. And although we should be sorry to say or insinuate a single word which could be construed into a depreciation of the invaluable books of St. Alphonso Liguori, of Father Segneri, of Pere de la Salle, or the numberless other pious writers with whose works these later days have been blessed, yet we cannot but regret that any cause, however good in itself, should lead even to a temporary forgetfulness of the favourite pious authors of our own earlier years.

It is with more than ordinary satisfaction, therefore, that we welcome this new and most excellent translation of St. Francis of Sales's inestimable Introduction to a Devout Life; and although the learned translator, Mr. Jones, has deserved highly of his catholic countrymen by his numerous and most valuable earlier publications, yet, we cannot help thinking that the present work entitles him to still better and higher praise. "The Devout Life" is a work for which our entire stock of devotional reading will not supply any adequate substitute. Other books are equally tender in sentiment, equally elevated in thought, equally fervid in language, equally, perhaps, more, rich in scriptural knowledge. But there is not in the whole circle of ascetic theology a single volume so admirably calculated for the class to which it is addressed—for persons engaged in the world. Almost all our other books of devotion appear in the eyes of the world to adopt one ideal standard of sanctity, to the attainment of which all their exhortations are directed and all their rules and precepts adapted. Few of them seem to descend to the details of real life, taking men and women as they actually are; and endeavouring to make them better, with so little of abandonment of their actual duties, engagements, and even recreations or pleasures, as to win them insensibly to virtue by divesting it of its repulsiveness and difficulty, and satisfying them, even at first sight, of the possibility of practising it in the world. Now, we are fully sensible, that for many souls such a course of direction, indiscreetly pursued, would be dangerous, and indeed, destructive; but we also know, that, for the majority of mankind, it is the only course that is either feasible or hopeful; and, in the hands of a saint, like Francis de Sales, so tender, so considerate, so cognizant of every little detail, so full of emotion and winning piety, in a word, so specially, and we believe, providentially gifted for this arduous but holy office, it has been the instrument of salvation to countless thousands, whom a more unbending course of direction would have driven to despair.

The original preface of the Devout Life expresses so clearly and so characteristically the author's views in its composition, that we are induced to transcribe a paragraph as a specimen of the manner in which the translation is executed.

“Almost all have hitherto written of devotion in a manner either suitable for those only who live far away from all commerce with the world, or leading souls to an entire separation from it. My design, therefore, is to instruct those who live in towns, in families, or at court, and whose condition subjects them, externally, to the ordinary routine of life. Such persons, very generally, imagine that a devout life is an impossibility in their regard, and that therefore they need not think of attempting to lead such a life; like animals who never dare to taste the seed of the plant *Palma Christi*, they think that they must not aspire to the palm of Christian piety so long as they are engaged in the hurry of secular affairs. To such I endeavour to make it appear, that as the mother-of-pearl fish lives in the midst of the sea without taking in a drop of salt water, and as in the direction of the Chelidonian islands there are springs of fresh water in the midst of the sea, and as fire-flies pass through flames without burning their wings; so a resolute and persevering soul may live in the world without imbibing its spirit, discover sweet springs of piety in the midst of its bitter waters, and pass through the flames of earthly concupiscence without burning the wings of her holy aspirations to a devout life. It is true that this is not an easy task, and therefore I could wish that many would attend to it with much greater care and earnestness than heretofore. With a view to contribute towards this, I offer in these pages, weak as I am, assistance to those, who with a generous heart engage in so worthy an undertaking.”—pp. 21, 22.

Those to whom the old English version, with its quaint and startling, though not inexpressive idioms, is familiar, will join with us in the expression of our gratitude to Mr. Jones for his clear, easy, and graceful translation. The peculiarly ornate style of St. Francis, his constant use of similes and illustrations, and the many simple graces of composition for which his manner is so remarkable, require the pen of a skilful and practised translator, more perhaps than any other doctrinal author with whom we are acquainted: and Mr. Jones's previous labours, as well as his excellent natural taste, had prepared him to render full justice to all the delicacy which his task involved.

There is something exceedingly touching in the sweet humility of the concluding paragraphs of the preface.

“For the rest, my dear reader, it is true that I have written of a devout life without being myself devout, but certainly not without the desire of becoming so; and this desire has encouraged me to undertake to instruct thee. For, as said by a most learned man, ‘A good way to learn is to study, a better is to listen, but the best is to teach.’—‘It frequently happens,’ says St. Augustin, writing

to his devout Florentina, 'that the office of distributing makes us worthy of receiving, and the office of teaching lays the foundation of our learning.' Alexander having commanded the celebrated Apelles to paint the portrait of his much-loved Campaspe, the artist was obliged for this purpose to gaze on the countenance of Campaspe for a long time together; and thus became, as he drew her features, deeply enamoured of her person. Alexander, on hearing this, took pity on him, and gave her to him in marriage; depriving himself for Apelle's sake, of her whom he most loved in the world. 'In this,' says Pliny, 'he showed as much greatness of soul as he could have done by the most signal military victory.' Now, I am of opinion, my beloved reader, that, as a bishop, God required me to portray upon the hearts of others not only common virtues, but also his most dear and well-beloved devotion. This I willingly undertook, as well in obedience to him, and to discharge my duty, as in the hope that while I delineated her in the hearts of others, my own might become holily enamoured of her; and that his Divine majesty seeing me thus deeply stricken with her, would give her to me in eternal marriage. The beautiful and chaste Rebecca, for watering the camels of Isaac, became his destined wife, and received from him earrings and bracelets of gold: so I trust, through the infinite goodness of my God, that for thus leading his dear sheep to the salutary waters of devotion, my own soul will become his chosen spouse, and that golden words of divine love will be breathed into my ears, and strength given me to reduce them to practice, which is the essence of true devotion. This do I beseech his Divine Majesty to bestow upon me, and upon all the children of the Church, to which I desire ever to submit my writings, my actions, my words, my inclinations, and my thoughts."—pp. 26, 27.

Need we express our hope, in conclusion, that this admirable book is destined to become even more popular than ever among us?

V.—*The Peerage, Baronetage, and Knightage, of Great Britain and Ireland, including all the Titled Classes*, by CHARLES R. DOD, Esq., author of "the Parliamentary Companion," &c. London: Whittaker and Co., Ave Maria Lane, 1848.

THERE is a great distinction between this and all other works that are best known under the general designation of "peerage books;" for Mr. Dod has in this given what no other peerage or baronetage book ever yet attempted to give,—*a full account of all persons bearing titles*;—such, for instance, as the children of the nobility, who are by courtesy, "lords, ladies, and honourables,"—of the

bishops, the Scotch judges, all ranks of knights; that is, all persons using the prefix of "Sir," whether they be civilians or military men—all, too, who bear the title of "Right Honourable," including of course in these the members of the Privy Council. In one department alone we thus find in Mr. Dod's book what we can discover in no other book that is published, authentic information respecting at least one thousand officers in the colonial, diplomatic, military, naval, and civil service of the state. This information—of vast importance to all classes—is to be found in no other book. We are justified in stating that it is authentic; because we have long derived assistance from the labours of Mr. Dod in his valuable "Parliamentary Companion;" and we can affirm that we never yet have known him to fall into any error. Such is his anxiety and his care not to state anything for which he has not the means of proving that it is asserted on the best authority. Those who desire to know the biography of every person in the fashionable world, as well as those who would be acquainted with the past history and the present position of every one who is in the service of the country, or has been honoured by any mark of distinction by the crown, will find every particular necessary to be known in this volume by Mr. Dod. It is a book as indispensable in the drawing-room as in the library.

VI.—*Italy in the Nineteenth Century, contrasted with its Past Condition.* By JAMES WHITESIDE, M.A., one of Her Majesty's Counsel. Two volumes, 8vo. London: Bentley, 1848.

WE are compelled by want of space to postpone our intended notice of these volumes.

VII.—*Hymns of the Heart, for the use of Catholics.* By MATTHEW BRIDGES, Esq. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son, 1848.

MR. BRIDGES has spoken very modestly in the few feeling sentences which introduce his little volume, when he expresses a hope that "it may not be unprofitable to pious Catholics." We have not for a long time read anything with more sincere pleasure. We trust we are not too sanguine in regarding it as the commencement of a new era; for although the collection is too brief, and the subjects

too little diversified, to warrant us in hoping for much practical change in our devotional poetry from its immediate publication, yet, on the one hand, we feel a confidence that this is but the first essay of a poet who possesses the taste, the genius, and above all the piety, which are necessary for the task of raising the standard of devotional poetry, which at present is sadly low among us; and, on the other, we are sure that the circulation of even so small a collection will do more to create the desire for really good sacred poetry than it would be possible to effect by endless criticisms, strictures, and exhortations.

As we shall probably take another opportunity of returning to what we cannot but regard as a most important subject, we shall content ourselves for the present with a single specimen from this delightful little volume. It is one of a series of metrical paraphrases of the titles of our Blessed Lady in the Litany of Loretto.

“DOMUS AUREA.

“LIGHT! Light! Infinite Light!  
The mountains melted away:  
Ten thousand thousand seraphim bright  
Were lost in a blaze of day:  
For God was there, and beneath His feet  
A pavement of sapphires glow’d,\*  
As the mirror of glory transcendently meet  
To reflect His own abode.

“Love! Love! Infinite Love!  
The lowly Lady of grace  
Bows underneath the o’ershadowing Dove,  
Her eternal Son to embrace!  
For God is there, the Ancient of Days,  
An infant of human years:  
Whilst angels around them incessantly gaze,  
And nature is wrapt in tears!

“Peace! Peace! Infinite peace!  
A golded House hath it found,  
Whose ineffable beauty must ever increase  
With immortality crown’d!  
For God was there, the Lord of the skies,  
Whose loud alleluias ran,  
From heaven to earth,—as Emmanuel lies  
In the arms of Mary for man!”—pp. 68, 69.

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\* Exodus xxiv. 10.

We may add, as an interesting circumstance connected with this beautiful little publication, that it is modestly offered by the author as some expression of his "poignant and unmitigated regret, for having ever used his feeble pen against that holy and Apostolic Church, which by divine grace he has lately been enabled to join, after nearly eight years of labour spent in investigating her claims, and a desire throughout that entire period that he might be mercifully guided aright by the Spirit of God into the fulness of divine truth."

VIII.—*A full Course of Instructions for the use of Catechists*, being an Explanation of the Catechism, entitled "An Abridgment of Christian Doctrine," by the Rev. JOHN PERRY. Vol. 2. London: T. Jones, 63, Paternoster Row.

WE congratulate the Catholic public upon the completion of this truly valuable work. We can but repeat what we have already stated with respect to it, when the first volume appeared,\* that in these volumes the Rev. Mr. Perry has afforded most valuable assistance to all who have the arduous task of catechising and instructing the young in their religion. These instructions are, in our estimation, indispensable as an accompaniment to the catechism, because they lighten the labour of the teacher, whilst, at the same time, they afford instruction to the young in that manner and form which we would wish to see imitated in every book of instruction; that is, giving to the young the authorities on which statements are made, and assertions grounded, and thus affording them an incitement to study in other books, than the one immediately placed before them. Most books placed in the hands of children—educational books as they are called—are mere statements without authority or proof of the correctness of those statements. Mr. Perry's book being one intended for the old, and calculated for the perusal of the young, happily violates this practice, and thus holds forth an example which we would wish to see universally imitated.

A single brief extract will suffice to show the author's manner of dealing with his subject:

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\* See Dublin Review for April, 1848, No. XLVII. pp. 253, 254.

"NECESSITY OF CONFIRMATION.—Is it necessary for every one to receive the Sacrament of Confirmation? The reception of this Sacrament is not so necessary, as to be an *essential* means of salvation, (non est necessaria necessitate medii); but it is, nevertheless, so necessarily to be received, that it cannot be wilfully neglected without a grievous sin. 'This opinion,' (says St. Alphonsus Liguori.) 'must be followed, as having been decided by Pope Benedict XIV. in a Bull concerning the Greeks, wherein he says: 'They (*who are not confirmed*) are to be admonished by the bishops that they contract the guilt of a *grievous sin*, if they refuse and neglect to receive confirmation when they have an opportunity.' '(*Sed prima sententia omnino est tenenda, utpote decisa Benedicto XIV. in Bulla, Etsi pastoralis, de Ritibus et Dogmatibus Græcorum, 1742, ubi (§ iii. n. 4.) hæc habentur: monendi sunt (qui non sunt confirmati) ab ordinariis locorum eos gravis peccati reatu teneris si (cum possunt) ad confirmationem accedere renuunt ac negligunt.*' *S. Alph. Lig. Hom. Apostol. tract. 14 de Confirma. n. 47.*) And this is especially true in a persecuting, or in a country like this, where Catholic faith and practice are so much opposed and ridiculed by those amongst whom we live.

"In the apostles, we have a striking example of the necessity, or extreme utility of receiving the special graces of the Holy Ghost, such as are conferred upon us in confirmation. The apostles had been three years with Christ, had seen his miracles, had heard his instructions, witnessed his example, &c.; yet they had not courage to profess and practice what he required from them: they even forsook him, denied him, durst not show themselves in public, or appear to be his disciples. But no sooner did they receive the Holy Ghost, with his gifts and graces, than their minds were enlightened, and their hearts inflamed; they were filled with zeal and courage, and being thus 'endued with power from on high,' (Luke xxiv. 49.) they boldly professed, publicly preached, and courageously and even joyfully suffered for the Religion which they professed and preached. The Sacrament of Confirmation works the like beneficial effects on the souls of them who receive it worthily."—Vol. ii. pp. 40, 41.

It is in this manner that the Reverend author instructs alike the old and the young—thus illustrates every point, and gives to the reader the authorities on which he relies; and thus has he made in these volumes a very valuable addition to Catholic literature.

IX.—*The Roman Martyrology, set forth by the command of Pope Gregory XIII., and revised by the authority of Pope Urban VIII.* By WILLIAM NUGENT SKELLY. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son, 1848.

THIS is a most acceptable, and will prove, we trust, a most useful volume. We have been too little in the habit, hitherto, of conforming our practices of devotion, not alone with those of our continental brethren, but even with the spirit of the Universal Church itself. Few Catholics perhaps are aware, or at least few recollect in practice, that not only does the Roman Martyrology form part of the prescribed spiritual reading of every pious foreign community, but that it actually enters into the Divine Office itself. In England too, in the olden time, our persecuted fathers recognized its importance, for we find an English translation of the Martyrology\* among the few books which their oppressed and impoverished condition permitted them to publish.

The diffusion of the Religious Institute among us, and the increased desire of domestic spiritual reading which every day appears to bring forth, induce us to hope that the present modernized reprint of this ancient translation will be found a welcome addition to our pious libraries, both public and private. The translation is executed with great judgment and accuracy; and the volume itself, as a specimen of correct and elegant typography, is one of the handsomest which has been issued from the Derby press.

X.—1. *Cottage Conversations. First Series.—The Church.* London: Burns, 1848.

2.—*Cottage Conversations. Second Series.* London: Burns, 1848.

It is hardly necessary to describe the nature or object of this excellent publication. It purports to be from the pen of "one who, after years of anxious wanderings, was called at the eleventh hour;" and is written with the view of "helping our poorer brethren into that fold, where she has found rest and peace." In the little work before us she has begun her mission well. It consists of a series

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\* Printed at St. Omers, 1667.

of simple and plain conversations on the subject of religion, chiefly explanatory and apologetic; and while it avoids the vice into which such works have ordinarily fallen, of puzzling rather than satisfying, by their display of learning and of acute reasoning, it leaves but few of the popular misrepresentations of Catholic doctrine and Catholic practice without precisely such a refutation as is calculated to produce its effect on a sincere and enquiring mind.

We trust that the success of the Series may be such as to draw forth many such volumes as these—written in the same simple and intelligible style, with the same interesting liveliness, and, above all, with the same winning tenderness and charity—reviling none, assailing none, content with calm and temperate self-justification, and breathing in every page “peace on earth to men of good-will.”

XI.—*Revelations of Ireland.* By D. O. MADDEN, Esq. Dublin : McGlashan, 1848.

MR. MADDEN is well known as a ready and prolific writer, a humorous story-teller, a graphic painter of character, and an indefatigable collector of anecdote. The ‘*Revelations of Ireland*’ is just such a book as we should have expected from his pen. It aims at no higher object than the amusement of the reader, and some of the chapters are exceedingly amusing. But we have long ceased to feel an interest in that class of Irish literature to which Mr. Madden’s book belongs.

XII.—*The Manners of the Israelites ; wherein is seen the Model of a Plain and Honest Policy for the Government of States and a Reformation of Manners.* Translated from the French of the judicious and learned Abbe FLEURY, by the Rev. CHARLES CORDELL. London, Dublin, and Derby : Richardson and Son, 1847.

MUCH valuable information is contained in this little work, which should be put into the hands of all young people capable of reading any portions of the Old Testament. The result of much learning and study is conveyed with simplicity and clearness, and throws light upon a very difficult subject.

XIII.—*Specimens from Schiller and Uhland.* By GEORGE CARLESS SWAYNE, M. A. Oxford : Macpherson, 1848.

THESE "Specimens" are for the most part very agreeable ; and we trust that their success will lead to a more serious and sustained effort on the part of the author.

XIV.—*The Dying Minstrel and other Poems.* By CATHARINE CARR HARPER. London, Dublin, and Derby : Richardson and Son.

VERY sweet and elegant lines, of no pretension, but which might fitly be prefaced by the pretty verses we have extracted as a specimen.

"Though by our native mountain springs  
Our feet no more may roam,  
There are a thousand pleasant things  
Entwin'd around our home.

"The hand, though languid, yet may pull  
The grape from off the vine,  
Or from the open lattice cull  
The clambering eglantine.

"The eye, the drooping eye, may see  
Soft April's falling showers,  
Or watch the rovings of the bee  
Amongst delicious flowers.

"The ear may list each tuneful vow  
Warbled amongst the trees;  
The fever'd lip, the burning brow,  
May catch the wand'ring breeze.

"Oh, there are comforts still, altho'  
We may not wander forth ;  
A host of gladd'ning things, which show  
How beautiful is earth !"

XV.—*Scenes and Characters from the Comedy of Life.* By the author of "Harry Layden," &c. New York : Edward Dunigan, 1847.

THIS lively, clever, absurd little story is, as the author truly says, a story, and nothing more, having neither plot nor purpose, unless the very laudable one of quizzing the American field-preachers, temperance preachers, &c., of whom a motley and amusing group has been collected.

There are also some good steady farmers and their young people, and a sketch of the love affairs ensuing upon a visit to New York; all very amusing, and slight as it is, such spirit and drollery run through the work, as make us wish to meet the author again. We will extract a description of the "Demon of the Study," being a sort of *bore* our readers perchance have met with, and cleverly hit off:

"A stout old man, with a greasy hat,  
Slouched heavily down to his dark red nose,  
And two grey eyes enveloped in fat,  
Looking through glasses with iron bows;  
Read ye, and heed ye, and ye who can  
Guard well your doors from that fat old man."

XVI.—1. *Father Felix, a Tale.* By the Author of "*Mora Carmody*," New York: Edward Dunigan, 1846.

2.—*Julia Ormond, or the New Settlement.* By the Authoress of the "*Two Schools*." New York: Edward Dunigan, 1847.

3.—*Tears of the Diadem, or the Crown and the Cloister; a Tale of the White and Red Roses.* By MRS. ANNA H. DORSEY, Authoress of the "*Student of Blenheim Forest*," &c, New York: Edward Dunigan, 1846.

4.—*The Elder's House, or the Three Converts.* New York: Edward Dunigan, 1846.

5.—*The Sister of Charity.* By MRS. ANNA H. DORSEY, Authoress of "*Tears of the Diadem*." New York: Edward Dunigan, 1846.

THESE little works form part of a series, which we hope to see continued, and which, under the name of the "*Home Library*," have been collected and given to the public by the well-known publisher, Mr. Dunigan of New York. Those works which we have seen all seek, more or less strenuously, the advancement of the Catholic faith, and are admirable for good sense and morality. In the preface to one of the stories there is a hope expressed, that by supplying "a strong, healthy current of pleasant reading, designed to instruct and win the heart while it amuses the fancy, the immoral influences may be checked of that kind of light literature which, stamped by the approval of fashion, finds its way daily into the boudoirs and parlours of 'Young America.'" It is not only in America that the want, the necessity for this style of reading is felt. In spite of all objections that may reasonably be entertained

for such a mixture of divine and worldly subjects, and such a mode of inculcating the most solemn truths, we nevertheless find an increasing demand for works of fiction, by which the attention of young people may be caught, and lured on by degrees to subjects of importance. We consider the present series as amongst the best of their class; they accept more frankly the character of entertaining stories than most of the English or French works of the kind which we have seen, and are consequently more likely to be read. Now and then, to our taste, the style may assume too florid and novel-like a character; but it never offends against the strictest propriety, and the incidents, which are various and pleasing, have a dash of something foreign about them which is amusing to the English reader. A sweet tone of Catholic feeling pervades them, and the truths of religion are well illustrated.

XVII.—*Lays of the Deer Forest, with Sketches of Olden and Modern Deer-hunting; Traits of Natural History in the Forest; Traditions of the Clans; and Miscellaneous Notes*, by JOHN SOBIESKI and CHARLES EDWARD STUART, 2 vols. 8vo. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1848.

It is little more than twelve months since we introduced to our readers a very interesting volume of Highland tales and sketches, by the accomplished brothers whose names stand at the head of this page. How well and honourably they use the leisure and the opportunities which it is their happiness to enjoy, is attested by the two goodly volumes which they have produced during this brief interval. The title is so full, and explains so well the nature and contents of the work, as almost to preclude the necessity of explanation upon our part; and it will be enough for us to say that the first volume alone is poetical, and that the varied and curious matter with which the second is crowded, is appended, for the most part, in the form of notes and anecdotes, illustrating the incidents or allusions of the several pieces comprised in the poetical collection. We cannot help thinking the arrangement a bad one, and calculated to interfere materially with the interest of the book. The first volume might have stood well by itself, or, at least, would have been sufficiently explained by a few brief illustrative notes; and it is unquestionably a great pity that the curious and most interesting matter with which the second volume is liter-

ally crammed, should have been thrown into a form so heavy and unattractive, instead of being left to stand as a separate and independent collection of essays and sketches, which could have been read and enjoyed for themselves.

The "Lays" are not all, as might be supposed from the title, peculiar to the Deer Forest. Their subjects are very miscellaneous,—romance, religion, friendship, patriotism, politics, as well as forest sports; but in all alike there is a manly tone, a heartiness, and a spirit, which tell of the clear air of the mountain and the lake, and make us forget some occasional indications of carelessness or haste from which the versification is not exempt.

Our extracts must be exceedingly brief, and we are induced to select, as a specimen, a few lines from one of the longest of the "Lays"—"The Templar's Tomb."

It is a pleasing picture of a Highland sunset, and may perhaps remind the reader of the general character of Walter Scott's poetry. "Clara's Knight," we should say, is the hero of the piece.

"The setting sun was red and low  
On Nevis top and ocean's flow,  
And on the mighty mirror pale  
Showed in white flakes each snowy sail,  
While its last smile in parting play  
A golden sheet on Findhorn lay,  
Within the forest drear and deep  
The closing flowers shut to sleep,  
And on the old oak's ivy bough  
The grey owl peeped and muttered now,  
And 'mid that deep and sunless shade  
Thought that 'twas twilight on the glade.  
Far at the hunter's trysting thorn,  
The woodman blew the gathering horn;  
And in the Rannoch lone and still  
The red buck belled upon the hill.  
All else was hushed by wood and vale,  
Save haply the inconstant gale,  
Which shook the dew-drop from the rose,  
And lulled the even's fair repose.  
That breeze which stirred the woodland flower  
Waved the pale flag on Moray's tower,  
And the dark plume of one who there  
Walked by the lonely terrace stair;  
With folded arms and measure slow  
He paced the smooth stone to and fro,

And mused and listed to the hum  
Which mingled with the evening drum,  
And oft toward the mountain dun,  
Gazed anxious on the setting sun.—  
He turned, and to the golden light  
Showed the dark face of Clara's knight."

Vol. I. p. 40, 41.

The following hunting incident, taken at random from the "notes and illustrations," will be more to the taste of "lovers of the noble sport."

"One dark cloudy day, in the depth of winter, we followed a buck, which was like the German leg or the Wandering Jew, and took us all over the forest, into all the burns, and round all the locks and heights, crossed through the middle of the castle park, down to the road of the east farm, between the houses and the square, across the garden, and into the burn at its foot, where of course we lost him for a time. "Wonderful buck, sir!" said Donald; but "*buck*" only by conjecture: for whether buck, doe, or demon, we had never a glimpse of his head to say, and only judged his gender by the size of his slot and the wide spread of the dew-clees. With the burn he returned again into the forest, and only left the water, as we suppose, because he met an old woman's cow, which was standing up to her knees in the pool, where the long sweet grass grows down to the Glac-Lucrach. From thence he went away over the pots to St. John's Logie, treasured all over the wet woody bog, and into the brae of the Tober-shith. I made for the Giuthas-mòr, where a famous run comes up from the hollow, but the deep toll of the hounds passed along the middle of the bank, and went away for the river. I examined the slot, to see that it really had *four* legs, though, it is true, that was little satisfaction, since we have no authority that the fiend does not sometimes go on all-fours, as, according to the Arabians, he occasionally does on one. As long as the dogs led, however, we should certainly have followed, though he had as many legs as a millepede, or no more than a Nim-Juse. Where he went, however, or how we followed, it would be too tedious to relate. Keeping under the wind, we continually checked him by the cry of the dogs, until only old Dreadnought was left on the track, and at last the roe turned short in the face of a pass where I was posted before him, and took wild away for the hamlet of Ceann-na-Coille. This utterly threw me out, as there was no understanding such a buck—who, like Napoleon in Italy, left fortified posts on his flank, and otherwise disregarded the old pig-tailed rules of war—besides which, from his last direction, it was probable that he was a Brodie buck, and was gone straight away for his own woods. However, I followed to hear what had become of him; and though I lost the

cry of the hound, tracked the slot till it brought me out of the wood to a little cottage, where I found Dreadnought, very unlike himself, pottering about at the gravel of the house. I thought he was bewitched, till, as I traced the buck's foot, I also lost it near the same place, and neither he nor I, by nose or sight, could make any more of it than if, like one of Tasso's dragons, the buck had started into the air. While we were groping in the road, and Dreadnought taking a cast about the house, to the great discomfort of the old wife's cocks and hens, she brought out the usual cottage hospitality—the bowl of "*set*" milk; and as I was rewarding her with news of her cow, which she had lost for three days in the forest, and was the same "knock-kneed, how-backit, glaikit horned auld carline" which had turned the buck in the morning—there was a challenge from old Dreadnought in the kailyard! I threw the bowl into the barley-mow, and sprang upon the dike, where I saw the deep print of the buck's foot in the soft mould of the potato plot, into the middle of which he had bounded from the road, clearing the dike at a right angle, over which the dog had run, wondering where he had flown from his last slot. I had scarce time to observe the marks, when the hound opened at full cry, made a demi-tour into the wood, across the road, and into the thorn jungle on the burn, from which, as before mentioned, we had lost our buck of the three days' run. As, however, the roe was now tolerably fresh, I judged that, rather than follow the water into the open pines, he would return for the birken braes and thorny hollows behind him. To intercept him, therefore, I kept the flank of the stunted firs, which, straggling over the moss between the burn and the castle road, are the connecting cover between the jungle and the woods. I had just left the tall trees, and was making for the dike, when the cry of the dog turned towards me; in an instant after, and for the first time in the day, I saw the buck himself; he came bounding through the centre of the little scroggy firs, glanced over the road, and as he leaped upon the dike, the shot just caught him in the spring with which he topped the fail."

Vol. II. p. 102—4.

If there be any one who, after reading the extracts, still entertains a doubt as to the interest with which these volumes abound, we can only add our assurance that there is hardly a page which will not well repay the trouble of perusal. There is not a single ignoble thought, not an ungenerous sentiment from the beginning to the end; nor do we think it possible for any one to rise up from its simple and natural pages, without feeling his taste improved, his spirits lightened, his mind refreshed, and his heart invigorated.

XVIII.—*A Plea for Peasant Proprietors ; with the Outlines of a Plan for their re-establishment in Ireland.* By WILLIAM THOMAS THORNTON, author of "Over-population, and its Remedy." London : John Murray, 1848.

WE should rejoice to see this "Plea" in the hands of every English legislator ; and yet, if Mr. Thornton could make converts of them all, of what avail would it be ? The "rights of property," and the "power of property," lending to each other mutual assistance, are in England irresistible. If their influence is ever to be modified over that large class of the community who, having no property, have no power—none, at least, recognized by law—and few, if any rights, it must be by some manifestation of the will of God, at present unforeseen. Nevertheless, in this work there is much that will remove prejudice, and furnish grounds for a sound opinion upon this important subject. By various arguments drawn from statistics, from the admissions of travellers and historians, and from the obvious tendencies of human nature, our author proves that where peasant or yeoman farmers hold manageable small properties, either in possession or on long and secure tenures, there is the threefold advantage of better cultivation of the land, the maintenance of a greater number of people, and their improvement in comfort, independence, and morality. He proves how much this was the system of old Catholic times, and how invariably a departure from it has been followed by the pauperism and degradation of the people, unless where the providence of landlords has prevented this by extirpating them altogether. Mr. Thornton has made this a practical question, by applying it to the settlement of the waste lands of Ireland, for which he has drawn up a scheme, which would, we doubt not, prove extremely feasible, and which would tend more than anything to put an end to the race of rack-rented pauper tenantry, whose crimes and miseries have been so often and so foolishly urged against the small proprietor.

XIX.—*Notes of a Two Years' Residence in Italy.* By HAMILTON GEALE, Esq. Dublin : James McGlashan, 1848.

AN elegant and lively record of the first impressions produced upon the mind of a gentleman and a man of

education by the fairest scenes of Italy, cannot fail to be interesting. We agree with the author that, while the world endures, the various points of view in which Italy may be beheld, her endless charms, and the power they have of kindling fervour and love, will call forth new ideas in minds capable of experiencing any. The present work is slight, as its title expresses, but very agreeable in style and liberal in its spirit. This last encomium will need some explanation to those who will find in these pages an abundant repetition of the old protestant commonplaces—of “the senses being affected, the imagination excited, but the soul not being satisfied in the churches,” of “priestcraft and hypocrisy continuing their usual course, and debasing still further the minds and characters of the people;” of monks “hurrying to their houses laden with the rewards of divination or mendicity;” that “the Gospel, the glad tidings of great joy, is not freely or faithfully published from their pulpits,” &c., &c. We cannot expect travellers to lay aside the prejudices in which they have been brought up; perhaps it is not unnatural that, being only prejudices, they should be embraced with more tenacity, in proportion to the strong temptation to lay them aside which our author must have experienced in Italy. What we have a right to expect, is truth as to *facts*—a sure, though unintended antidote to the most violent outcries of bigotry. We find this truthfulness in Mr. Geale’s work, however erroneous in his own inferences and constructions; he does not shrink from admitting the excellent results produced by the teaching he complains of; he does justice to the morality of the Italians in their private lives, to the spirit of toleration by which, as he says, “the Italians have always been distinguished;” to the munificence with which the Roman Pontiffs, cardinals, and nobles have “embellished their country;” and to the courteous liberality with which they have invited others to share in their elegant pleasures; to the “gentleness and want of arrogance to inferiors, and love of popularity which have long distinguished the Italians;” to the delight and constancy with which the offices of religion are frequented, the affecting and soothing care which the Church of Rome everywhere manifests to recall to the mind of the traveller the hopes and consolations of his religion; and above all, in page after page, and almost in every city of Italy, we find the hospitals, the charitable institutions, the “untiring

zeal and self-sacrificing devotion" of the monks and clergy, and the charity of the laity, extolled, until our author exclaims: "Why is it, again I would ask, that we only witness these scenes in Roman Catholic countries? Cannot we strike out some machinery consistent with our Protestant principles, that would be equally effective in relieving the distressed, and inculcating our religion? or must we submit to the reproach, that our purer form of Christianity cannot induce Protestants to make the sacrifices which Roman Catholics are everywhere seen to make for the sake of their religion? It is idle to try to explain all this by saying that their religion is a religion of works, ours of faith, for we know that 'faith without works is dead.' " (p. 210.) We wish the effect of these admissions were as palpable to the writer, as we think it will be to all those who remember our Lord's own criterion of judgment.

XX.—*Claudia and Pudens; an attempt to show that Claudia, mentioned in St. Paul's Second Epistle to Timothy, was a British Princess.*  
By JOHN WILLIAMS, A.M. Llandovery: Rees, 1848.

A DULL and uninteresting, though erudite, dissertation, on a subject utterly devoid of practical or theoretical utility.

XXI.—*The Month of the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ; or a Series of Devotional Practices to honour and prepare for the Birth of the Holy Infant Saviour, with Pious Exercises for the Octaves of the Epiphany and Purification.* Translated from the French, and dedicated to the Holy Infant. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son.

THIS small and valuable book of devotion is in itself a proof that there is springing up and animating the entire of the Catholic community a new life, a fresh energy, and a great zeal, such as England has not experienced for centuries. It is an unmistakable demonstration that the period of persecution has passed away; that the struggle has ceased when Catholicity was placed on the defensive, and that the time has come when the christian, undisturbed by exterior assaults, can, without fear and as full of hope as of charity, pour forth his aspirations before the altar, rejoice in the presence of the holy Sacrament, and devise, as it were, new modes to express his love for Him who died for all, and his veneration for her who is the refuge and the most powerful intercessor for sinners.

The object of this book is to fix, during the holy season of Advent, the mind of the christian day after day (commencing with the Sixth of December, and ending with the Feast of the Epiphany) upon the mysteries of the Incarnation and Nativity of the Saviour. "The daily entertainment for each day," remarks the author, "which, besides a point of doctrine, includes *reflections*, &c., is preceded by a *practice* and aspiration, both to render it more conformable to the devotions appointed for other months, as well as to gratify more fervent souls, who never think they can do enough to please their Divine Saviour." To aid this object, the mind is directed each day to the particular state of feeling with which its peculiar devotion should be begun, and persevered with;—thus, for instance, the first day is entitled "a day of confidence," the second "a day of suffering," the third "a day of purity," the fourth "a day of fear," the fifth "a day of zeal," and so on to Christmas Day, which is justly designated "a day of holy joy." The prayers contained in this little book are imbued with the true unction of piety, the practices suggested in it are excellent. It breathes from the commencement to its close an ardent devotion. Happy the souls who attend to its suggestions, and truly good must they be who in every particular can adhere to them. As a little book for Advent, we recommend this to the attention of Catholic families.

XXII.—*Self-destruction of the Protestant Church: or her Articles, Canons, and Book of Prayer giving a death-blow to each other.* Addressed to all those of her Clergy who presume to attack the Catholic Church. By the Rev. JOHN PERRY. London: C. Dolman.

HERE is a little book, containing not more than twenty-four pages, that may be read from beginning to end in about thirty minutes, and to which those to whom it is addressed will not be able in twice thirty years to give anything like a satisfactory answer. What scandal might be saved, and how much of uncharitableness left unwritten and unspoken, if the sanctimonious spouters at Exeter Hall would, instead of attacking the Roman Catholics, devote themselves to the study of this puny-sized pamphlet, and endeavour to give one reasonable, satisfactory, intelligible, and christian-like reply to it!

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